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THE CELTIC ELEMENTS IN THE LAYS OF LANVAL AND GRAELEN¹

The Lay of *Lanval*,² attributed to Marie de France and written during the third quarter of the twelfth century, is one of the gems of mediaeval romance. Its popularity in England is attested by the preservation in several manuscripts of an early English translation³ which became the basis of Thomas Chestre's deservedly famous *Launfal*.⁴ The main thread of Marie's poem, which differs in certain points from Chestre's, may be summarized as follows:

Lanval, one of the king's knights, who has become impoverished by lavish giving, rides forth alone to seek solace. On arriving in a meadow, he dismounts from his horse and lies down by "une ewe curant." He is soon approached by two damsels. One carries a golden basin, the other a towel. Addressing the knight, they summon him to their mistress, who, they tell him, is near at hand.

¹ This article forms the third of a series dealing with the Celtic elements in the Breton Lays. See *Revue Celtique* (R.C.), XXXI (1910), 413 ff. (reprinted in part in *Studies in Philology* [University of North Carolina], XI [1913] [Menasha, Wis.], 26 ff.); *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, Boston, 1913, pp. 377 ff.

² Ed. Karl Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, 2d ed., Halle, 1900, pp. 86 ff. For other editions, see *op. cit.*, p. iii. Cf. Miss A. H. Billings, *Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances* (Yale dissertation), New York, 1901, pp. 152 f.

³ See Kittredge, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, X (1889), 3; *Percy Folio Manuscript*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, I, London, 1887, pp. 144 ff.; Rudolph Zimmermann, *Sir Landeval* (Königsberg dissertation), 1900; A. Kolls, *Zur Lantalsage* (Kiel dissertation), Berlin, 1886. Cf. Miss Billings, *loc. cit.*

⁴ For editions, see *Am. Jour. Philol.*, X (1889), 2. The text used for the present discussion is that of Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, London, 1802, I, 170 ff. Chestre's poem dates probably from the first or second quarter of the fourteenth century.

Following them a short distance, Lanval reaches a magnificent tent in which, reclining upon a couch, is a beautiful woman "en sa chemise senglement."

tut ot descovert le costé,
le vis, le col, e la peitrine [vss. 104 f.].

The lady recognizes Lanval at once, and addresses him as follows:

pur vus vinc jeo fors de ma terre;
de luinz vus sui venue querre [vss. 111 f.].
. . . . jo vus aim sur tute rien [vs. 116].

If he is "pruz e curteis," he may have such "joie" and "bien" as never emperor, queen, nor king possessed. Lanval is immediately smitten with love, and promises to give up all other women for the lady. The latter now grants him her favors, but requires that he shall never mention their love. If his relation to her becomes known, he will lose her forever. She promises to visit him wherever he desires, provided the place be such that one can meet his "amie" there "senz repreuce e senz vileinie" (vs. 166). At their meetings he alone will be able to see or hear her. The lady now bestows rich clothing upon her lover, and after entertaining him at dinner, dismisses him. On reaching home, Lanval finds his retainers well clad. He has all the wealth he can desire, and is often visited by his mistress.

Some time after the meeting with the lady of the tent, Lanval receives an offer of love from the queen, but he refuses to wrong his lord the king by accepting it, and, angered by the queen's taunts, boasts of his mistress, whose beauty he asserts far surpasses that of his temptress. On returning to his dwelling, he finds that the lady of the tent does not appear at his desire. Later the queen accuses him of having insulted her, and he is arrested. It is decreed by the court that if at the expiration of one day he can produce his mistress and if she is as beautiful as he has described her, he shall be acquitted of the charge. Wild with grief at the loss of his "amie," he refuses to eat or drink. Those who visit him "mult dotouent qu'il s'afolast" (vs. 416).

At the expiration of the allotted time the barons, finding Lanval unable to fulfil the requirement, are about to pronounce judgment when the lady of the tent, preceded by two companies of lovely

damsels who herald her approach, arrives at court. Dropping her mantle, she advances into the hall. Her radiant beauty proves her lover's claim, and Lanval is acquitted. As she leaves the court, the knight leaps on her horse behind, and is carried off by her to the beautiful island of Avalun.¹

Nuls n'en oi puis plus parler,
ne jeo n'en sai avant cunter [vss. 663 f.].

The main thread of Thomas Chestre's *Sir Launfal* agrees in general with that of Marie's poem, except that at the end of the English lay the hero accompanies his mistress on a horse which had been given him by her earlier in the story. Every year on a certain day the animal may be heard and seen, and its master is ready to joust with all comers.²

The twelfth-century lay of *Graelent*,³ though neither the source nor the pendant of *Lanval*, tells a very similar story. It runs as follows:

Graelent, a noble knight "de Bretuns nés" (vs. 5), is loved by the queen of Bretagne, but he refuses her offer of affection. Angered at the rebuff, the queen speaks ill of him to the king, who withholds the pay due Graelent for service in time of war. Sad at heart because of poverty, Graelent wanders into the forest, where he starts a white hind. On pursuing the animal, he comes to a beautiful fountain in which a maiden, with two attendant damsels, is bathing. Graelent steals up quietly and takes the lady's clothes. The latter at first becomes terrified and begs him to return her property, even going so far as to offer him gold. When, however, Graelent asks her love, she treats him scornfully. The knight now threatens to keep

¹ For Marie's "Avalun" Chestre's poem substitutes "Olyroun," the name of a real island (Kittredge, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, X, 13 f.), but the author knew that Launfal's destination was fairyland, for he tells us so (vs. 1036). Cf. Kpehler in Warnke's *Die Lais*, *Introd.*, p. cxli, n. 1.

² Besides the earlier translation of Marie's lay, Chestre used the anonymous lay of *Graelent* (see n. 3, below), and introduced into his poem two long episodes drawn from his imagination or rather from the common stock of conventional chivalric material (Kittredge, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, X, 5). For the purposes of the present discussion these two extraneous episodes may be disregarded. As will appear from the following pages, Chestre also probably drew certain features of his work from popular tradition.

³ Ed. Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I, Paris, 1820, pp. 486 ff. Roquefort erred in attributing *Graelent* to Marie de France. Cf. Wolf, *Über die Lais*, Heidelberg, 1841, p. 238, n. 73; and Koehler in Warnke's *Die Lais*, *Introd.*, pp. cx ff. See further Miss Billings, *op. cit.*, p. 153. In the quotations from *Graelent* the more glaring errors in Roquefort's text have been rectified.

her garments. He finally induces her to leave the fountain and dress, whereupon he carries her into the dark forest and makes her his mistress. The lady now suddenly changes her manner entirely. She tells him that she has visited the fountain for the purpose of meeting him and that she has long known of his coming. She also grants him her love and promises him great riches, assuring him that she will visit him whenever he desires, provided he does not reveal her existence.

Like Lanval, Graeent loses his mistress through a thoughtless boast. Each year at Pentecost the king is wont to give a banquet. At the conclusion of the feast the king

La Reine faiseit munter
Sor un haut banc e deffubler [vss. 418 f.].

It was then the duty of all present to praise her and to declare that they knew nothing so beautiful. Graeent, who happens to be present at one of these strange ceremonies, keeps silent. On being asked by the king why he withholds his praise, he announces that he knows a woman thirty times as fair as the queen. The king thereupon threatens him with life imprisonment if at the expiration of a year he cannot produce the woman whom he praises so extravagantly. Graeent later finds that his mistress does not appear at his desire, and is overcome with the most bitter remorse. Finally, however, the lady of the fountain returns, arriving at court just in time to save her lover from the threatened punishment. When she departs, Graeent mounts a wonderful horse (one of his mistress's gifts), and, in spite of her warning, follows her. He rides after her into a river. Here he is on the point of being drowned when he is saved by the lady and carried off. He has never returned. The horse, escaping from the water, mourns for the loss of his master. He may still be heard at this season of the year.

The poems outlined above evidently represent variants of the same theme: a supernatural woman bestows her affection upon a mortal, but forsakes her lover when the latter breaks her command. This formula of the Offended Fée is widespread in the folk-lore of many ages and countries. It is found in the early literatures of India, Greece, Italy, and Western Europe, as well as in a large number of modern folk-tales in various languages, and is probably most

familiar in the Melusine story.¹ From what source it found its way into the poems before us is the question of which a solution is attempted in the following pages.

THE CELTIC HYPOTHESIS

The Lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent* belong to that class of mediaeval episodic narrative poems known as "Breton Lays"; that is to say, they claim descent from Celtic tradition. Since, however, a number of mediaeval poems calling themselves "Breton Lays" show no discernible similarity to early Celtic literature, either in material or in method of treatment,² the label "Breton Lay" taken alone cannot be regarded as justifying the inclusion of any untested poem in the Celtic heritage of Western Europe.

Per contra, we have no right to regard the occasional unsubstantiated use of the term "Breton Lay" as warrant for concluding that the designation was never applied to stories of Celtic origin. The fact that a large number of mediaeval poems were called "Breton Lays" furnishes strong presumptive evidence that tales told originally by "li Bretun"³ were known and relished in courtly circles during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Moreover, the application of the term to stories bearing no distinct trace of Celtic influence argues mightily for the existence and popularity of other stories regarding which the claim was justified. The conclusion seems unavoidable that mediaeval poets first attached the label only to stories derived from Celtic sources, and that the popularity of such stories inspired other writers to adopt the title as a literary device for attracting a larger audience by claiming for their work an origin of which it could not justly boast.⁴ Indeed, the very existence of the term "Breton Lay" can be satisfactorily explained only on the

¹ See Gervais of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, Hannover, 1856, pp. 4 ff. In the stories of *Psyche* (Apuleius, *Met.* iv) and of *Lohengrin* the place of the fairy-mistress is taken by the supernatural lover.

² Cf. Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV (N. S. VIII) (1900), 173.

³ The much-vexed question of whether "Bretun" means Britons (Welsh) or Bretons is immaterial. See Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfr. Lit.*, 2d ed., Halle, 1913, pp. 335 ff. For bibliography and a collection of material, see A. B. Hopkins, *The Influence of Wales on the Arth. Roms. of Chretien de Troies* (University of Chicago diss.) Menasha, Wis., 1913, pp. 114 ff.

⁴ Compare the many palpable imitations of negro folk-tales which have appeared in recent years as a result of Mr. Joel Chandler Harris's successful retelling of the Brer Rabbit stories.

hypothesis that the first Breton Lays in French were founded on stories actually current at one time in Celtic-speaking communities. Although, aside from the evidence of place- and personal names (which is often far from conclusive),¹ the considerations set forth above furnish the chief reasons for looking to Celtic tradition for the origin of Breton Lays, they cannot in justice be disregarded. The mediaeval poet tells us that the story he relates was once current among "li Bretun"; only in case a careful search through preserved Celtic literature dating from a period earlier than the middle of the twelfth century prove unfruitful, are we at liberty to regard his claim as in the slightest degree suspicious.

It is also necessary to emphasize one or two facts sometimes overlooked by those unversed in the ways of tradition. The investigator of the Celtic origins of mediaeval romance has nothing to do with the ultimate origin of the stories with which he deals. They may be *gemeinkeltisch*; they may have got into Celtic from classical or oriental tradition, or from any other possible source; they may, as in the case before us, belong to that class of widespread tales whose beginnings are lost in the mists of unrecorded time. If the student of popular origins can show that the chief elements in a Breton Lay were present in Celtic literature at a sufficiently early period for them to have reached directly or indirectly the ears of mediaeval romancers, he has vindicated the truthfulness of the narrator.

Before proceeding to an examination of the lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent*, we shall find it convenient to summarize another Breton Lay which resembles in some respects the stories outlined above. Guingamor, the hero of the poem which bears his name,² refuses an offer of love from his uncle's wife, the queen, and through her machinations is induced to undertake the capture of a mysterious white boar which uses in a perilous forest near the court. After chasing the animal for a long time "parmi la lande aventureuse," Guingamor crosses "la rivière perilleuse," and finally reaches a magnificent, though uninhabited, palace. Leaving the building to continue

¹ Cf. Voretzsch, *loc. cit.*, and p. 393. On the Celticity of the name Lanval, see Zimmer, *Göt. gel. Anzeigen*, 1890, pp. 798 f.; Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 176, n. 1. On the name Graelent, see *infra*, p. 37, n. 4.

² Ed. Gaston Paris, *Romania*, VIII, 51 ff. Cf. Schofield, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, IV (Boston, 1897), 231 ff.

the hunt, he finds himself in a "lande." Here he discovers a fountain with gravel of gold and silver, in which a damsel is bathing a beautiful woman. Guingamor steals the lady's clothes, but she, far from showing any fear, addresses him at once, and, calling him by name, rebukes him for his discourtesy. Guingamor returns her garments, whereupon she offers to entertain him and give him the boar's head. She then grants him her love, and takes him back to the palace, which, on his arrival, he finds peopled with gay knights and ladies. At the expiration of what seems to him three days Guingamor prepares to return home. On departing he is warned by his mistress against eating food on his journey. When he reaches his own country, he finds that he has been absent three hundred years. Hunger seizes him, and he eats a wild apple he comes across on the road, whereupon he falls from his horse a weak old man. He is, however, rescued from his sad plight by two mysterious women, and by them is carried back to his mistress's kingdom, where the lovers are reunited.

It is obvious that in the Lay of *Guingamor* the story of the mortal who receives the love of a *fée* and meets with disaster by disregarding her injunction, is combined with an account of a preliminary journey to the *fée*'s land. The hunt for the fairy swine, which furnishes the induction to the meeting with the lovely bather, the perilous forest and river, and the empty palace which later becomes filled with knights and ladies, are all stock features of the conventional Journey to the Other World, both in popular literature and in mediaeval sophisticated romance. The scene of Guingamor's relations with the lady is evidently the fairy world; in order to reach its happy fields he must leave the land of mortals; and his misfortune from eating the apple on his return is indisputable evidence that he has been a dweller in that realm whose viands no son of earth may touch and ever again eat food on mortal soil.¹

¹ The folk-tale of the Offended *Fée* combined with the preliminary Journey to the Other World occurs in other mediaeval documents. See, for example, the early fourteenth-century Italian romance of *Lo bel Gherardino*, ed. Francesco Zambrini, in *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare*, LXXIX, Bologna (Romagnoli), 1867, 21 ff. Koehler (*Die Lais der Marie de France*, p. cxv) and Panzer (*Bibl. des litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*, CCXXVII [Tübingen, 1902], lxxxv), apparently misunderstanding a reference by Schofield (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV [N.S. VIII] [1900], 164, n. 1), make the mistake of asserting that *Lo bel Gherardino* is published by D'Ancona in *Una poesia ed una prosa di A. Pucci*, Bologna, 1870. A somewhat similar story is told in the fifteenth-century

In the Lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent* the situation is different. Although certain features, such as the guiding damsels in *Lanval* and the hunt for the white deer in *Graelent*, were probably borrowed from the conventional Journey to the Other World, the main events were certainly felt by the narrators as taking place in the world of mortals. In *Lanval* the fée's habitation is far from the spot where she encounters her lover, for she tells him expressly:

pur vus vine jeo fors de ma terre;
de luinz vus sui venue querre [vss. 111 f.].¹

Like Argante, the elfin queen who heals Arthur's wounds, and like other fairy women of mediaeval romance, she dwells in the isle of Avalon, whither, be it noted, her lover does not go until the end of the story, and whence, Marie tells us, he has never returned.²

Italian romance of *Liombruno*, summarized by Panzer (*loc. cit.*) and Koehler (*op. cit.*, pp. cxv f.; *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 308 ff.).

A late version found in the Middle High German romance of *Seifrid von Ardement* is so much confused by the introduction of extraneous episodes as to be of little or no use for our purposes. The romance has been edited by Friedrich Panzer, "Merlin und Seifrid de Ardement von Alberecht von Schafenberg in der Bearbeitung Ulrich Füetters," *Bibl. des litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*, CCXXVII, 61 ff.; cf. Paul's *Grundriss*, 2d ed., II, 1 (1901-9), 288. In *Gauriel von Muntabel*, another late and extremely corrupt Middle High German romance, the circumstances under which the lover first met his fairy mistress are not described (*Gauriel von Muntabel, eine höfische Erzählung aus dem 13. Jahrh.*, ed. Ferdinand Khull, Graz, 1885).

The same type of story is doubtless preserved in Chrétien's *Yvain*. See A. C. L. Brown, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 1 ff.; *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX (1905), 674 ff.

See further *Partonopeus de Blois* (ed. G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1834; cf. Schofield, *Eng. Lit. from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, New York, 1906, pp. 307 f.).

¹ In *Graelent* too the fée's words imply that she has come from a distance (vs. 315). For other fairy women who have come long distances to look for their lovers, see *Perceval le Gallois* (Conte del Graal), ed. Potvin, vss. 40,589 ff.; *Lay of Melion* (vss. 111 f.); *Thomas Rymer* (Child, *Ballads*, No. 37, A, st. 4).

² In the Lay of *Désiré*, which gives a version of the Offended Fée somewhat similar to those found in *Lanval* and *Graelent*, though considerably altered by the introduction of extraneous features, the meeting between the lover and his mistress evidently takes place in the world of mortals. The hero sets out to visit a good old hermit, whose abode, in the forest of "la Blanche Lande" near his home in Scotland, he has often visited as a boy. On the way he meets at a fountain under a great tree a damsel bearing two basins of gold. The latter conducts *Désiré* to her mistress, whom the knight finds nearby lying on a beautiful bed "dedens une follée" and attended by a maiden. The lady at first flees from him, but when he urges his suit, she grants him her love. Before dismissing him, she gives him a ring with the caution, "Si vus meffetes de nent, | L'anel perdrés hastivement". Later she forsakes her lover when he speaks of her at confession. After a year, however, she restores to him her favor, and, returning later, carries him off to her land, whence he has never returned. The Lay of *Désiré* has been edited by Francisque Michel, *Lais inédits des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1836, pp. 10 ff.

An even more obvious case in which the fairy mistress visits the world of mortals in search of her lover occurs in *Peter von Staufenberg*, a Middle High German romance

Early Celtic literature is rich in accounts of journeys to the Other World. In one of the many variants of this theme a mortal visits fairyland and wins the love of a *fée*, sometimes losing her afterward as the result of breaking her commands. In another equally well-defined type of Celtic fairy-mistress story there is no question of a journey to the Other World. The *fée* visits the land of mortals in search of her lover, and remains with him until, through his disregard of her injunctions, she disappears. In other words, the motif of the Offended *Fée* exists in early Celtic literature independent of, as well as in combination with, the Journey to the Other World.¹

which was written probably during the fourteenth century and which records a tradition associated with the Staufenberg family settled in the vicinity of Straßburg. See Edward Schröder's ed. in *Zwei altdeutsche Rittermaeren*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 1 f.; cf. *Gott. gel. Anzeigen*, 1895, pp. 407 f. The story, which Schröder regards as originating from a "keltisch-germanischer mythenwurzel," is briefly as follows: Peter von Staufenberg, while riding from his castle to Nuzbach to hear mass on Easter Day, finds by the roadside a beautiful woman sitting on a stone. On his addressing her and asking how she comes to be there alone, she replies, "da han ich, frünt, gewartet din" (vs. 331), and adds that she has loved and protected him since the beginning of his career. When he asks her love, she acquiesces at once and promises to visit him whenever he desires, but she warns him that if he takes a mortal wife, he must die. She then presents him with a ring, which, however, is not said to possess any especial virtue. She later visits him often at his castle, and gives him rich gifts, which he distributes lavishly. At length when Peter is urged to take a mortal wife, and in explanation of his refusal tells of his fairy mistress, he is assured by a priest that his supposed lady-love is really "de tuvel in der helle." He therefore agrees to wed a lady of this world. Three days after the marriage he is a dead man.

A further instance of the type of story in question is found in the fourteenth-century Italian romance of the *Pulsella gaia* (ed. Pio Rajna, *Per nozze Cassin-d'Ancona*, Florence, 1893.) Galvano finds in a forest a serpent-lady who becomes his mistress. The lady bestows upon her lover a ring which will supply all his needs, but which will disappear if he reveals their love. Later Galvano refuses the love of a queen, as a result of whose hatred he is subsequently led to boast of his fairy mistress at a tournament. Just as the unfortunate lover is about to be executed for his inability to produce his mistress, the *fée* returns and by her beauty substantiates his claim that she is fairer than the queen. She departs, however, without becoming reconciled to him. Galvano finally recovers her favor, but not until he has passed through many dangers and difficulties. (On this romance, see further E. Freymond, *Vollmöller's Krit. Jahresbericht*, III [1891-94], 2, Erlangen, 1897, p. 167; Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 163 ff.; Koehler, Warnke's *Die Laie*, pp. cxv f.) The *Châteline de Vergi*, written during the late thirteenth century, tells how a knight, beloved by a lady who forbids him to speak of their relations, loses his mistress by revealing the secret. It has been suggested that the story is based on a scandal at the court of Burgundy during the late thirteenth century (G. Raynaud, *Rom.*, XXI [1892], 153); but there is also reason to believe that the foundation of the narrative was the folk-tale of the Offended *Fée* retold by a Burgundian author who hoped to enlist added interest for his work by connecting it with the history of his native province (cf. L. Brandin, *Introd.* to A. K. Welch's Eng. trans. of the *Châteline de Vergi*, London, 1908, pp. 8 f.). See further Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 176.

¹In another familiar type of story the fairy mistress, although visiting the world of mortals in search of her lover, carries him off at once to fairyland. The motif of the *fée*'s injunction and its breach may or may not be present. Cf. the romance of *Thomas of Erceldoune* (ed. J. A. H. Murray, E.E.T.S., London, 1875) and the corresponding ballad of *Thomas Rymer* (Child, *Ballads*, No. 37); the ballad of *Tam Lin* (Child, No. 39); Miss

The influence on mediaeval romance of Celtic stories involving both the fairy mistress and the Journey to the Other World has long since been recognized. The fact appears, however, never to have been emphasized that the equally important and far simpler type also finds parallels in mediaeval sophisticated literature. The thesis maintained in the following pages is that the Lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent* are ultimately based on Celtic tales in which the fée seeks out her lover in the land of mortals, becomes his mistress, and lays upon him commands, the breach of which results in the severance of their relations.¹

THE FAIRY MISTRESS IN THE WORLD OF MORTALS

Early Celtic literature abounds in stories of supernatural women who visit the world of mortals in search of their chosen lovers.² An Irish romance whose similarity to the lays under examination makes

Paton, *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, Boston, 1903, pp. 19 f.; *Serglige Conchulainn*; Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, pp. 81 ff.; *Facs. of Nat'l. MSS of Ireland*, I, plates 37 and 38; II, App. IVA-I, D'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée celtique en Irlande*, I, 170 ff. (cf. especially Zimmer, Kuhn's *Zt. für vergl. Sprachforsch.* u. *Lit.*, XXVIII, 594 ff.); *Laoidh Oisín ar Thír na n-Óg* (*Celtic Soc. Trans.*, IV [Dublin, 1859], 235 ff.); *Acallamh na Senórach*, ed. S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (S.G.), II, London, 1859, p. 204; Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, IV, ix, ed. Wright (Camden Soc.), 1850, pp. 170 ff.; *Echtra Condla* (see below, p. 10, fn. 2).

¹ In the case of the Irish documents utilized in the course of this discussion, lists of editions and translations other than those referred to may be found in a *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature* [ed. R. I. Best] (National Library of Ireland), Dublin, 1913; referred to as *Bibliog.*

² The *Echtra Condla*, one of the earliest and most beautiful Irish romances, tells how a fairy woman seeks her lover in the world of mortals and carries him off to the over-sea Elysium. For editions and translations see *Bibliog.*, pp. 106 f. Cf. F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXVII, 559 ff.; Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, London, 1895, pp. 144 ff.; A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain*, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 28 f. See also C. Gough, *Prince Connla of the Golden Hair and the Fairy Maiden*, Dublin (Gill), n.d. For other Celtic stories in which fairy women visit earth to seek for mortal lovers, see *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind* (*Ériu, Jour. of the School of Irish Learning* [Dublin], III (1907), 150 ff.; Royal Irish Academy, *Irish Manuscripts Series*, I, 1 (1870), 38 f.; *Dindsenchas, Folk Lore*, III (1892), 478 f., 505; *R.C.*, XV (1894), 437 f.; *R.C.* XVI (1895), 32 ff.; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 479; *Laoidh Oisín, Oss. Soc. Trans.*, IV (1859); cf. *Bibliog.*, pp. 207 f., and *Jour. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2d ser., II (1896), 186 ff. For other cases of supernatural women in the world of mortals see *S.G.*, II, 203, 214 ff., 239 ff., 257; *Irish Tezle*, IV, 1, p. 236; III, 2, p. 473. Cf. *R.C.*, XXI (1900), 159; XXXII (1911), 53 f. It has been shown that the source of the Old French, Irish, and Latin versions of the Werewolf's Tale (except Marie's Lay of *Bisclavret*) contained a story in which "a fée abandons the Other World and marries a mortal" (Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII [1903], 195). See also Seumas MacManus, *Donegal Fairy Tales*, pp. 177 ff.; William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* (2d ser.), Penzance, 1873, pp. 288 ff. (cf. Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, new ed., London, 1903, p. 149). Cf. Wace, *Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie*, ed. H. Andresen, Heilbronn, 1879, II, 3, p. 284, vss. 6, 409 f., where the author informs us that "li Breton" of his day believed that fées might be encountered in the forest of Brochellant. See further Gervais

it of the greatest interest for our present purpose is the *Aidead Muirchertaig maic Erca* (Death of Muirchertach mac Erca).¹ Though the story in its present form postdates the Scandinavian invasion of Ireland, it must have been in existence before the middle of the twelfth century.² The thread of the narrative runs as follows:

Muirchertach, king of Ireland, while out hunting one day, sits on a hill. "He had not been there long when he saw a solitary damsel beautifully formed, fair-headed, bright-skinned, with a green mantle about her,³ sitting near him on the turfen mound; and it seemed to him that of womankind he had never beheld her equal in beauty or refinement." He immediately becomes enamored of her. The lady tells him that she is his darling and that she has come to seek him. She adds that her name (which is *Sín*, "Storm") must never be mentioned by him, and that for her he must abandon

of Tilbury, *Ot. Imp.*, ed. Liebrecht, pp. 4 ff., 65 ff.; *Jour. Oriental Society*, XX, 150; Leopold von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Minus im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 239. Lallstner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889, II, 427. For modern Celtic fées who visit the world of mortals, see below, p. 33, n. 2, p. 34, n. 2, p. 37, n. 3.

¹ Ed. Whitley Stokes, *R.C.*, XXIII (1902), 396 ff.

² The death of M. is mentioned in the *Book of Leinster* (LL) (written ca. 1150) in a poem attributed to Cinaed Ua Artacain († 975): D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai d'un catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande*, Paris, 1883, p. 29; *R.C.*, XXIII, pp. 328, 339. Two poems on M. are quoted by the annalist Tigernach († 1088). Our story is referred to in the prose *Dindsenchas* (*R.C.*, XVI [1895], 66), which, though written down probably during the twelfth century, contains a great deal of material current during the ninth and tenth centuries. Though the point is of doubtful value for establishing the date of the *A.M.*, attention should be called to the conclusion of Alfred Anscombe that Muirchertach died A.D. 515 (*St. Gildas of Ruys and the Irish Regal Chronology of the Sixth Century*, privately published, 1893, p. 44). See also *Folk Lore*, III (1892), 512, note.

³ In *Launfal* (vs. 235) the maidens who summon the knight are dressed in green. For Celtic examples of green as a color for other-world beings or objects, see *R.C.*, XXI, 159; XXIV, 136, 149; XXVIII, 155; *Ériu*, III, 169; *S.G.*, II, 203, 257; *Ir.T.*, IV, 1, p. 255; *Ir.T.*, Extrab'd., p. 340; Patrick Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, London, 1866, p. 121; *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, 1st ser., VI (1858), 360; VII (1859), 136; Hogan, *Lays and Legends of Thomond*, new ed., Dublin, 1880, p. 149; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1900, pp. 14 f., 133; Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Tales of Wales*, London, 1909, p. 204; *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882), 105. Among the mediaeval romances, see *Perceval* (ed. Potvin), vss. 20,005, 29,822; *Libeaus Desconus*, st. 26, l. 307; Child, *Ballads*, No. 37; cf. the Green Knight of our best Middle English romance. Examples might be multiplied.

In the final episode of *Graelent* the fée is dressed in red. Red is also a popular color in fairy lore. In Celtic, see, for example, *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* (ed. J. T. Gilbert), I, Dublin, 1874, xxxvii; *R.C.*, XXII, 22, 36; *Ir.T.*, II, 2, pp. 242, 248 f. Cf. *R.C.*, XXI (1900), 157; *Ériu*, III, 153; G. Dottin, *Contes et Légendes d'Irlande*, Le Havre, 1901, pp. 11 ff.; J. G. Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 22, 29; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 102, 135; Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 105; *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX (1905), 678, n. 2. Among the mediaeval romances, see *Perceval*, vss. 2,063 f. 9,292, 10,185 ff., 15,524; *Chevalier de la Charrette* (Lancelot) (ed. Foerster), vss. 1,671, 5,519; *Lancelot of the Laik* (ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 1865), vss. 990 f.

his mortal wife. Muirchertach takes her home to Tara, and, after expelling the queen, places Sín on the throne by his side. The woman claims to be a follower of God,¹ but she gives evidence of various uncanny powers and causes her lover no end of trouble. One night she creates a great storm, during which the king accidentally mentions the word *sín*. Thereupon she surrounds the house with a host of spirits and sets it afire. Muirchertach, unable to escape, leaps into a vat of wine and is drowned. At the funeral of the king the woman reappears. She tells how Muirchertach had killed her father, mother, and sister in battle, and how she had attached herself to him for the purpose of revenge. She had, however, apparently fallen in love with her intended victim, for she dies of grief for his death. If we separate from this story the Christian elements, which tend to transform the *fée* into a demon, and the feud motive, which tends to make her a mortal woman, we have something like the following:

A beautiful and capricious woman from the Other World comes to the land of mortals, seeks out her chosen lover, declares her affection for him, and enthralls him by the sole power of supernatural love and beauty.² She forbids him to mention her name. The disregard of her command results in disaster.

Meetings between *fées* and their earthly favorites are also described in the *Acallamh na Senórach* (Colloquy of the Old Men),³ which, though compiled in its present form about the end of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century,⁴ contains, fitted into the framework of a dialogue between St. Patrick and the last survivors of the Fenian band, many topographical legends and other scraps of Celtic tradition which date from a much earlier period. An episode in this thesaurus of early Irish folk-lore⁵ describes a meeting between the king of Connacht and a princess of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, who seem to have been early identified with the *sídhe*,

¹ For other examples of fairy beings who profess faith in Christianity, see *R.C.* XXXI (1910), 414, n. 1.

² Late in the story we have a suggestion of Sín's original character in the statement that M. thought she was "a goddess of great power" (*bandúa o mercumachta*): ed. cit., pp. 406 f.

³ The best edition is that of Stokes, *Ir.T.*, IV, 1 (1900). For other editions, see *Bibliog.*, p. 189. Cf. O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, ed. of 1873, Dublin, pp. 307 ff., 594 ff.; *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, Dublin, 1873, III, *passim*.

⁴ See Stern, *Zt. für celtische Philologie* (C.Z.), III, 614.

⁵ *Ir.T.*, IV, 1, pp. 269 f.

or fairies. One day Aillenn Fial-chorera (Purple-Veil), daughter of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* king Bodb Derg (Red), with thrice fifty attendants, appears to St. Patrick and the king of Connacht. Though the statement is not explicitly made, it is evident from the context that she declares her love for the king. St. Patrick, apparently fearful lest his royal protégé be unequally yoked with an unbeliever, requires that as a preliminary to the wedding the lady shall accept Christianity. This she does, and the couple are married.

Earlier in the *Acallamh*¹ the king of Connacht receives a similar visit, though with not quite such happy results. One evening he is approached by a beautiful damsel. "Whence art thou come, my damsel?" asks the king. The maiden, after replying that she comes from the glittering *brugh* (evidently a fairy palace) in the east, announces that she is Aillenn Ilerothach (Multiform), daughter of Bodb Derg, and that her visit is prompted by love for the king. The latter, although deeply impressed with her beauty, confesses that he is unfortunately married and must in consequence content himself with his mortal wife. Somewhat doubtful what course to pursue, he consults St. Patrick, who decides that when his mortal wife dies, he shall be free to wed Aillenn. The *fée*, after exhibiting herself to the crowd, returns to the Other World.

An interesting variant of our theme turns up in the *Léighes Coise Chéin*, an extraordinary Middle Irish hodgepodge composed of fragments of traditional popular material.² An episode in this scrap-heap of Irish folk-lore runs as follows:

O'Cronogan, a West Munster chieftain,³ one day finds a mysterious greyhound, half white, half green,⁴ apparently sent by the *fée*

¹ Ed. cit., pp. 245 ff.; *S.G.*, II, 243.

² Edited and translated from the late fifteenth-century MS, *Egerton 1781*, by S. H. O'Grady, *S.G.*, I, 296 ff.; II, 332 ff. The *Léighes Coise Chéin* is referred to as the most noteworthy specimen of Highland Scottish prose literature in the Rev. Donald MacNicol of Lismore's Remarks on Dr. Johnson's *Journey to the Hebrides*, which appeared in 1779 (cited, *Folk and Hero Tales* [Argyllshire Ser., II], MacInnes and Nutt, London, 1890, p. 464). According to J. G. Campbell (*Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 127, note), its reputation "still survives very extensively throughout the Highlands."

³ The events are traditionally assigned to the reign of Brian Boróimhe (Angl., Boru); i.e., the early eleventh century (cf. O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 213). This fact, of course, has no bearing on the ultimate date of the tale.

⁴ On polychromatic dogs in Celtic and mediaeval romance, see Miss Gertrude Schoepferle, *Tristan and Isolt*, Frankfurt a/M. and London, 1913, II, 322 ff.; cf. p. 321, n. 3. See also the fairy dogs in *R.C.*, XXIV (1903), 129; *S.G.*, II, 233 f.

who appears farther on in the story. Later the hound chases a hare, which, running up to O'Cronogan and crying, "Sanctuary!" takes refuge in the hunter's bosom and immediately becomes a lovely young woman. The maiden conducts O'Cronogan into a fairy-mound, promises him anything he may desire, becomes his mistress, and next day accompanies him home. O'Cronogan, on reaching his native town, "saw there great houses and halls, and this was to him a source of wonder," for the place had recently been burned by Brian Boru, the king of Ireland, because of O'Cronogan's refusal to pay tribute. For three years the fairy woman remains with O'Cronogan, and there is prosperity within his gates, but on being insulted by Cian, her husband's overlord, she disappears.

The *Aislinge Oengusso* (Vision of Oengus),¹ which, though found in no manuscript earlier than the fifteenth or sixteenth century, certainly antedates the twelfth century,² tells how Oengus mac ind Óc³ is approached one night in his sleep⁴ by the most beautiful fairy woman in Ireland. After visiting her lover for a year, the lady, for no apparent reason, disappears. Oengus suffers greatly from love-sickness, but after a long search finds his sweetheart in the form of a swan at a lake, where he also is transformed into a swan, and the two are reunited.

An episode very much to our purpose occurs in the well-known collection of Welsh romantic tales known as the *Mabinogion*.⁵ Though the exact age of the *Mabinogion* is still a matter of dispute,

¹ Ed. R.C., III, 347 ff.

² It is mentioned in the *Book of Leinster* (ca. 1150) among the *remscéla*, or preliminary tales, to the great Irish epic of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*. The list of *remscéla* occurs in a passage which may go back to the ninth century. Cf. Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zt.*, XXVIII (1887), 438; cf. p. 434, and Windisch, *Ir.T.*, Extrab'd., pp. llii ff.

³ Usually regarded as a supernatural being (D'Arbols, *Le Cycle myth. irlandais*, Paris, 1884, pp. 269, 274; Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 212).

⁴ For other visits of fairy beings to sleeping mortals, see *Ir.T.*, II, 2, p. 198; cf. *Ir.T.*, III, 2, pp. 473, 489. Compare the following episode in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (I, ix, 12-15): Arthur, after hunting all day, falls asleep at the foot of a tree. It seems to him that a beautiful maiden appears, gives him her love, and tells him that she is the Queen of Fairies. On awakening, he finds "nought but pressed gras where she had lyen." Cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 29, n. 1. For other ladies loved in dreams, see *The Seven Sages of Rome*, ed. Killis Campbell (Albion Series), Ginn & Co., 1907, Tale XIV (p. 110); cf. *Introd.*, pp. cx f. See further the Alsatian folk-tale recorded in *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, XLIX (1906), 243.

⁵ *Text of the Mabinogion*, etc., ed. Rhys and Evans, Oxford, 1887, p. 11; *The White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. G. Evans, Pwllhell, 1907, p. 9; cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, Paris, 1913, pp. 96 ff.

it is generally accepted that the *mabinogi* of Pwyll, *Prince of Dyved*, embodies genuine Celtic tradition practically unaffected by foreign influences. In this tale Pwyll is visited by an unknown lady on a white horse. He learns from her that he is the object of her affection, and as a result of an agreement with her he visits her father's court at the end of a year, frees her from an unwelcome suitor, and marries her. In the meantime he preserves a discreet silence concerning his relations with her. The lady, whose name is Rhiannon, is certainly a *fée*.¹

The importance of this story in connection with the present investigation can hardly be overestimated. The love-story of Pwyll and Rhiannon shows that even among the wreckage of Welsh tradition proof exists that the fairy mistress in the world of mortals was known to the Celts of Britain.

It is useless to multiply examples. Those given above demonstrate beyond the possibility of doubt that stories of *fées* who hanker after earth-born lovers and who visit mortal soil in search of their mates existed in early Celtic tradition entirely apart from the conventional Journey to the Other World. In early Celtic, as well as in mediaeval romance, there may have been heroes who, like Sir Thopas, set out with the avowed purpose of seeking elf-queens for their lemans, but there were also plenty of mortals who received unexpected amatory visits from fairy princesses without the necessity of going off to the Other World.

THE FOUNTAIN SCENE

The setting for the meetings between the *fées* and their lovers in our poems is worthy of consideration. In *Graelent* the lady is discovered by her lover at a fountain;² in *Lanval* the hero, when approached by the *fée*'s attendants, is reclining "sur une ewe curant" (vs. 45) and is looking "a val lez la riviere" (vs. 54). That the association

¹ Compare the observations of Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 206.

² For other examples of *fées* at fountains in mediaeval romance, see *Perceval* (ed. Potvin), vs. 27,399 ff., 31,654 ff., 32,175 ff.; cf. *Elucidation* (*Perceval*), vss. 29 ff.; III, 87, n. 2; *Brun de la Montaigne*, ed. Paul Meyer (S.A.T.Fr.), Paris, 1875, vs. 3,095 ff. (cf. vs. 1,536 ff.); *Li Romans de Dolopathos*, ed. Brunet and Montaiglon (Bibl. elzévirienne), Paris, 1856, vs. 9,177 ff. See also the maiden (really a mermaid in disguise) whom Clerk Colville meets at a fountain (Child, *Ballads*, No. 42). Cf. De la Warr B. Easter, *A Study of the Magic Elements in the Romans d'Aventure and the Romans Bretons*, Baltimore, 1906, p. 46; Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 134.

of supernatural women with fountains or other bodies of water in the Lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent*, as well, it may be added, as in other romances of the *matière de Bretagne*, is not the result of the courtly poet's desire for picturesque decoration, appears in the highest degree probable from the evidence of early Celtic fairy-mistress stories.

The important place held by female water-divinities and feminine river-names among the early Celts has been strongly emphasized. "Before the Roman conquest the cult of water-goddesses, friends of mankind, must have formed a large part of the religion of Gaul. . . . Thus every spring, every woodland brook, every river in glen or valley, the roaring cataract, and the lake were haunted by divine beings, mainly thought of as beautiful females."¹ It is not at all unlikely that the cult of waters also existed in early Ireland.² In any case, the appearance of female other-world beings to chosen mortals at fountains or larger bodies of water is common enough in early Irish literature.

One of the best-known instances is found in the famous *Tochmarc Étdine* (Wooing of Etain).³ Though wanting in the oldest manuscript of the *Tochmarc Étdine*,⁴ the episode in point occurs in the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* (Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel), which belongs to the Etain cycle and is far older than the twelfth century.⁵ The following summary is based on the version contained in the *Togail*.⁶

Eochaid Feidlech, king of Ireland, at the earnest solicitation of his subjects, consents to take a wife, and sends messengers throughout Ireland in search of a suitable consort. One day as the king and his retinue were crossing "the fairgreen of Bri Léith" [a well-known

¹ J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 184.

² For bibliography, see Dom Louis Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celt.*, 2d ed., Paris, 1911, p. 14, n. 3.

³ For editions see *Bibliog.*, p. 84; Miss Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, II, 422, n. 3; cf. Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, 1901, pp. 77 ff.; O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs*, II, 192 f.; III, 162 f., 191.

⁴ The *Lebar na h-Uidre* (LU), written before 1104. It is, however, found in the fifteenth century MS, Egerton 1788, for editions of which see *Bibliog.*, p. 84.

⁵ On the date, see *R.C.*, XXXI (1910), 441, n. 1; Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 192, n. 3; Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zt.*, XXVIII, 587 ff.; *C.Z.*, V (1905), 522. Cf. O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs*, II (1873), 192 ff.

⁶ Ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes, *R.C.*, XXII (1901), 14 ff.

fairy mound], he saw at the edge of a fountain "a woman with a bright comb of silver adorned with gold, washing in a silver basin wherein were four golden birds and little, bright gems of purple carbuncle in the rims of the basin." Then follows a long and somewhat florid description of the maiden's personal charms.¹ "Verily, of the world's women 'twas she was the dearest and loveliest and justest that the eyes of men had ever beheld. It seemed to them [the king and his companions] that she was from the elf-mounds." Eochaid immediately asks her favors. She replies that she knows who he is and that it is for love of him she has come to the fountain. He thereupon takes her home as his wife. Owing to the confused and fragmentary character of the story, Etain's life-history from this point cannot be traced with complete certainty; but according to at least one version, Eochaid loses her, though in a way quite different from that in which the heroes of our French poems lose their mistresses.

The close parallelism between the opening episodes of the *Tochmarc Étaíne* and the lays under examination is significant. The story of the beautiful and unfortunate fairy princess Etain is full of popular motives, and is one of the most ancient Celtic fairy romances. It was certainly popular in mediaeval Ireland. If the accepted translation of the *Egerton* version be correct, Etain's beauty was proverbial;² and before the twelfth century the story was so well known as to be made the subject of a jocose reference in the *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*.³ It is also referred to in the *Book of Leinster* (LL) (ca. 1150) as one of a list of tales with which every Irish man of letters was required to be acquainted⁴—a fact which proves its popularity among the Goidelic Celts before the middle of the twelfth century. It is even possible that it formed part of the repertory of the numerous Irish raconteurs whose fame in England and on the Continent is so often attested in mediaeval literature.

¹ On descriptions of personal appearance in early Celtic and in the mediaeval romances, see Nitze, *Med. Philol.*, XI (1914), 452, n. 1. See further *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, 1st ser., VII (1859), 134.

² The *Egerton* text reads: "Is don ingen siu atrubrath cruth cach co hEtain, coem cach co hÉtaín" (*Ir. T.*, I [1880], 120; cf. *R.C.*, XXII, 15-16).

³ Ed. Kuno Meyer, London, 1892, p. 152. Cf. Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 196, n. 1.

⁴ O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 585, n. 123.

Another interesting appearance of a fairy woman at a fountain turns up in the *Eachtra Mac Echach Muigmedóin*,¹ which has already furnished material toward the establishment of the Celtic origins of Arthurian romance.² The oldest version is found in the *Book of Leinster*, and the story is pretty certainly older than the twelfth century. The hero, the famous Niall of the Nine Hostages, finds at a fountain a loathly lady. In exchange for a drink of water the prince gives her a kiss, whereupon she becomes surpassingly beautiful, and tells him that she is the Sovranty of Erin. The rest of the story makes it clear that the old woman is in reality a supernatural being who has assumed a loathly disguise in order to test the mortal whom she chooses to favor.³

Though our earliest Irish romances show a great deal of confusion between the subterranean, subaqueous, and transoceanic fairylands, the relation in the popular mind between supernatural beings and the fountains at which they may appear is made pretty evident from a passage in the *Scél na Fir Flatha* (Tale of the Ordeals),⁴ which, though found in no manuscript earlier than the fourteenth-century *Yellow Book of Lecan*, contains "the fullest account extant of the twelve ordeals of the ancient Irish." According to this document, the wife of a certain King Badurn saw at a fountain two fairy women (*da mnai as na sidhaib*). "When they beheld the [queen] coming toward them, they went under the well." The woman follows them, and finds at the bottom of the fountain a fairy palace.

That the popular fancy of the early Celts connected beings of other-worldly aspect with the bodies of water near which they might appear may perhaps be inferred also from the legend which tells how St. Patrick and his companions, while resting beside a well

¹ For the account in verse (from *LL.*), see *Ériu*, IV (1908), 101 ff.; for that in prose, *R.C.*, XXIV (1903), 190 ff. See also *S.G.*, II, 368 ff. Cf. O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs*, II, 147; *Lectures*, p. 531. According to Irish tradition, Eochaid Muigmedón was high-king about the middle of the fourth century after Christ.

² See Maynadler, *The Wife of Bath's Tale* (Grimm Lib., 13), London, 1901, pp. 25 ff., and Appendix A.

³ In a modern Ossianic tale given by Campbell (*Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, III, London, 1892, 421 ff.), Diarmaid is visited by an ugly hag, who becomes beautiful when he takes her under his blanket. She lays upon him an injunction, and disappears when he violates it. After a long search he finds her in the land under the sea.

⁴ Ed. *Ir. T.*, III, 2, pp. 183 ff.

at Cruachan, are mistaken for *firsídhe* (fairy men) by the daughters of King Loegaire.¹

But fountains were not the only approaches to the Celtic fairy-land under the water.² Beneath certain of the lochs and rivers of Erin were magnificent other-world duns, from which strangely beautiful women sometimes emerged, appearing on the banks³ or

¹ For a discussion of the story, which probably became connected with St. Patrick during the fifth or sixth century, see Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1895, p. 138. In the *Gilla Deaíre* (S.G., II, 302), Dermait, accompanied by an other-world being, dives into a fountain and finds at the bottom a beautiful country. In a modern Welsh composition, apparently made up of scraps of tradition, a "black knight," who is associated with the land beneath the waves, dives into a well when he is pursued (*Y Cymmrodor*, V [1882], 90).

² The water féé is only one of a large class of other-world beings who inhabit the subaqueous world. In Irish, cf. *Fled Bricrend*, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II, (1890), 39, 62 ff.; Story of Loegaire in *LL*, Facsimile (R.I.A.), p. 275, b, 22 to p. 276, b, 25 (for the version contained in the *Book of Lismore*, see S.G., II., 290 ff.). See also *Aided Echach maic Mairéda*, S.G., II, 265 ff.; Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 97 ff. (cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, pp. 9 f., and O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 294). Cf. R.C., XV (1894), 432 ff.; *Folk Lore*, III (1892), 489 ff.; XXI (1910), 476 ff.; *Ir. T.*, I (1880), 131, l. 13 ff.; *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I, 74 f. (cited by Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII [1903], p. 227, n. 2, q.v.); *Trans. of the Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, II (1852-53), pp. 33, 313; MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 190; *Rom.*, XXVIII, p. 325, n. 3; Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 167, n. 2; p. 169, n. 3; p. 185; Child, *Ballads*, No. 39; Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, lxi f.; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Cambr.*, I, chap. 8; *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 170, 199; V (1882), 90, 124; Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Tales of Wales*, London, 1909, p. 19; T. C. Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, London, 1834, pp. 155 ff.; *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, XI (1898), 234; Le Roux de Lancy, *Le Livre des Légendes*, Paris, 1836, pp. 111 ff.; Keightley, *The Fairy Mythol.*, London, 1860, pp. 147 ff.; A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, 3d ed., by E. H. Meyer, Berlin, 1900, p. 49 f.

³ In the *Tochmarc Emire*, Derbforgall (Cuchulainn's fairy mistress) and her maid appear in swan form at Loch Cuan (Miss Eleanor Hull, *Cuchullin Saga* [Grimm Lib., 8], London, 1898, p. 82; *Arch. Rev.*, I [1888], 304; on the date, see Meyer, R.C., XI [1890], 438 f.; Zimmer, *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, XXXII, 239). In another very early tale, the *Serglige Conchulainn* (Thurneysen, *Sagen*, pp. 82 ff.; *Facs. of National MSS of Ir.*, I, xxxvii), the birds which Cuchulainn attempts to kill, and which are evidently transformed fairy beings, appear at a lake.

Attention should also be called to the fact that in a number of modern Celtic folk-tales of the Offended Féé the mistress is a water-dweller. See, for example, G. Dottin, *Contes et Légendes d'Irlande*, Le Havre, 1901, pp. 7 ff.; Patrick Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, London, 1866, pp. 121 f.; Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, III, London, 1892, pp. 421 ff.; *Y Cymmrodor*, IV (1881), 195 ff. (cf. Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, New York, 1885, p. 82); *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882), 59 ff. (for the same story, see D. E. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*, Portmadoc, 1899, pp. 161 ff.; cf. Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, New York, 1891, p. 330); *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882), 86 ff., 93, 94 ff. Professor A. C. L. Brown (Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn., XX [1905], 680 ff.) concludes that Chrétien's Yvain and its Welsh analogue go back to a partially rationalized Celtic account; cf. Nitze, *Mod. Philol.*, III, 273. For other Celtic féés who live under the water, see S.G., II, 265 ff. (cf. Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 f.; Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, London, 1895, p. 29); *Arch. Rev.*, I (1888), 155 (cf. R.I.A., Todd Lect. Ser., IX, 26 ff.; R.C., XV [1894], 294 f.); Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, Boston, 1906, p. 38; *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882), 105, 118 f., 120 f.; Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Tales of Wales*, London, 1909, pp. 8 ff.; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and*

at the fords where the ancient highways crossed the streams and where they would be most likely to encounter the mortals upon whom they had deigned to cast the eye of love.¹

Of especial interest just at this point is an episode in the ancient Irish epic of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, the earliest redaction of which goes back to the eighth century of the Christian era or perhaps to an even earlier period. The passage in question² tells how Cuchulainn is met at a ford by a young woman "of surprising form wrapped also in a mantle of many colors." "Who art thou?" he asked. She made answer: "Daughter of Buan the king. I am come to thee. For the record of thy deeds I have loved thee, and all my valuables

Islands of Scotland, Glasgow, 1900, pp. 116, 201; F. M. Luzel, *Contes pop. de Basse-Bretagne*, II, Paris, 1887, pp. 349 ff.; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore Welsh and Manx*, Oxford, 1901, *passim*; *R.C.*, IV, 186 ff. See further Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., Part II, London, 1911, p. 94; Gervais of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, Hanover, 1856, pp. 4, 134, n. See also Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. II, c. 11, ed. cit., p. 77; *Paerie Queene*, VI, x, st. 7; *Nibelungenlied* (ed. Bartsch), Av., XXV, st. 1533 ff. See further Ritson, *Fairy Tales*, London, 1831, p. 14; MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 190, n. 3; Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, II, New York, 1889, pp. 213 f.; *Harvard Studies in Class. Philol.*, XV (1904), 81; *Class. Quarterly*, VII (1913), 184 ff.; *Saga Bk. of The Viking Club*, II (1898-1901), 272, n. 1. Cf. Nietzsche, *Mod. Philol.*, XI (1914), 477, n. 1; Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, London, 1895, pp. 142 ff.; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, cxlix ff. A sea-maiden was seen on the coast of Ireland as recently as 1910! (*Folk-lore*, XXI, 342 f.).

¹ At a period when roads were little more than wandering bridle paths and bridges were rare, shallow places where rivers could be forded were of course important. See Patrick MacSwiney, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, V, 29, n. 1; Archdeacon Sherlock, *Jour. Co. Kildare Arch. Soc.*, VI (1909-11), 293 ff. One of the stock episodes in early Irish literature and in the mediaeval romances describes an encounter at a ford between wandering knights or warriors of hostile tribes. See, for example Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, Halle, 1884, p. 20; *Tochmarc Emire*, Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 84; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XVI (1910), 89; *Fled Briacend*, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II, 43 ff.; *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., *passim* (cf. Leahy, *Heroic Rom. of Ir.*, London, 1905, I, 117 ff.; *Boroma*, *R. C.*, XIII (1892), 53, 79 f.; *Tain Bo Flidais*, *Ir. T.*, II, 2, pp. 217 f., *Celtic Rev.*, II (1905-6), 303 ff., III (1906-7), 11 ff.; *Perceval* (ed. Potvin), vss. 11, 110 ff., 20,633 ff., 24,211 ff., 37,105 ff.; *Le Bel Inconnu* (ed. Hippeau), vss. 359 f. (cf. *Libeaus Desconus*, st. 24, l. 287); *Erec et Enide* (ed. Foerster), vs. 3,031; *Lancelot of the Laik* (ed. Skeat), vss. 790, 1,040, 2,583; *Lai de l'Épine* (Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, p. 554), vss. 192 ff.; *Eger and Grime*, *Percy Folio MS.*, ed., Hales and Furnivall, London, 1867, vss. 101 ff.

² Found only in *LU*. For trans., see Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, pp. 164 f.; cf. Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zt.*, XXVIII (1887), 456 ff.

³ Compare the following episode in the *Brisleach mór Maige Muirthemne*: Cuchulainn, on the way to his last battle, encounters "at the entrance into the Ford of Washing on Emania's plain . . . a maiden, slender and white of her body, yellow of her hair," washing "crimson bloody spoils." She is called "Bodb's daughter." She is the well-known "washer at the ford," the Morrígu (see below, p. 21) in one of her aliases. Note that she is here referred to as "the fairy woman" (*Cuch. Saga*, p. 247; cf. *Bibliog.*, p. 88). In ancient Irish literature disaster is frequently portended by the appearance of the Badb (or Morrígu) washing bloody garments, arms, or heads at a ford. See Henderson, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II, 212; *Jour. Ivernian Soc.*, I (1908-9), 159 f.; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XVI, 17. The modern banshee may also be seen washing when evil is about to occur. Cf. *Folk Lore*, XXI, 180, 188.

and my cattle I bring with me.' " The Ulster hero, who is just now engaged in an excessively hazardous undertaking, has no time for silken dalliance, and in consequence declines the fair stranger's love. She thereupon threatens to oppose him in battle, and later by her shape-shifting power so hampers him in one of his fights that he is wounded.¹ But her anger, like that of Lanval's mistress, does not burn forever. On the eve of Cuchulainn's last battle the pangs of disprized love are forgotten in anxiety for the great warrior's safety, and she seeks, though in vain, to avert his death.²

The mysterious woman who thus boldly offers her affection to Cuchulainn is the Morrígu (Morrígan). Though she is usually regarded as a battle-goddess and though her name is applied indiscriminately to three fatal sisters (Badb, Neman, and Macha), who preside over the field of slaughter and rejoice in the slain,³ she is also associated with the fairy world, and is in some situations scarcely distinguishable from the beautiful women of the *sidhe*. She belongs to the *Tuatha Dé Danann*; after one of her encounters with Cuchulainn she is said to have returned to the fairy mound of Cruachan; and in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* she is called "the Morrígu, daughter of Ernmas from the elf-mounds."⁴ Her association with Macha

¹ *Cuch. Saga*, p. 166; cf. *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., pp. 312 f.

² Cf. the *Aided Conchulainn* (*Cuch. Saga*, pp. 254 f.), where it is said that on the night before Cuchulainn's last battle "the Morrígu had unyoked his chariot, for she liked not Cuchulainn's going to the battle, for she knew that he would not come again to Emain Macha." In the *Táin Bó Regamna*, the events of which tradition places several years before Cuchulainn's death, the Morrígu appears to the Ulster champion, and in the course of a rather violent argument tells him, "I am guarding your death-bed, and I shall be guarding it henceforth" (*Cuch. Saga*, p. 105). See further *R.C.*, I, 47; III, 175 ff.

³ Heathen gods frequently have many names: Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., Part IV, London, 1911, pp. 318 ff. Cf. MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 71. For the identification of the Morrígu with the Badb, see Windisch, *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., p. 312, n. 1. A gloss in *LL* equates her with Neman (Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 338, note; p. 380, n. 1). See further Reeves, *Ancient Churches of Armagh*, privately printed, Lusk, 1860, p. 44; *Cormac's Glossary* (trans. O'Donovan and ed. Stokes, Calcutta, 1868, p. 25); *R.C.*, I, 34; XII, 128; XVI, 63; XXXI, 436, n. 1; Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, p. 127; *Traces of the Elder Faiths in Ireland*, I, 359. Cf. *Folk-Lore*, XXI, 187, n. 1, and the documents there cited. The following gloss occurs in the fourteenth-century MS, H. 2. 16 (T.C.D.): *Machac. i. badb; no as i an tres morrigan*: "Machac, a scald-crow; or she is the third Morrigan" (*R.C.*, XII, 127). O'Clery's seventeenth-century glossary gives: *Macha. i. Badhb (Macha; i.e., Badhb)* (quoted by Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 840, n. 1). See further Windisch, *Abhandl. der königl. sächsisch. Gesell. der Wiss.*, Phil. Hist. Kl., XXIX (1913), 77 f., 109.

⁴ *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., p. 185; cf. pp. 313, 331; *S.G.*, II, 225. In the *Leabhar Gabhala* she is associated with Ana (Anu) (Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 139), who in *Cormac's Glossary* is called *mater deorum hibernensium* (*Three Irish Glossaries*, ed. W[hitley]

suggests the *Noinden Ulad*, an exceedingly close parallel to our type, which presents Macha with undoubted fairy characteristics and which will be treated later.¹ The heroine of the *Noinden Ulad* is called "Macha, daughter of Strangeness son of Ocean" (*Macha inghen Sainreth mac Imbaith*)—a fact which connects her at once with the watery world.² One of Cuchulainn's famous horses, the Liath (Gray One) of Macha, came out of a lake,³ and his name implies that he had been sent from Macha's fairy abode as a gift to her mortal protégé.⁴

S[tokes], London and Edinburgh, 1862, p. 2), and who apparently figures under the name Aine as a fairy mistress in modern tales. Cf. *Jour. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2d ser., II (1896), 367. *R.C.*, IV, 186 ff. Miss Paton (*Fairy Mythology*, passim), in her comparison between the Morrígu and Morgan la fée, emphasizes both the love and enmity of the former toward Cuchulainn. Cf. Mead, *Selections from the Morte Darther* (Ath. Press Ser.), p. 257, note. Though Miss Paton's effort to connect the Irish name *Morrigan* with the Arthurian *Morga(i)n* cannot be regarded as successful (Jeanroy, *Rom.* XXXIV [1905], 117, n. 2 [cf. *Lot, Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 324]; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *R.C.*, XXIV [1903], 325 f.), the personality *Morga(i)n la fée* of Arthurian romance is certainly close kin to the Celtic fairy women with whose character the Morrígu has so much in common.

¹ See below, pp. 39 ff.

² Cf. Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 32. On the possible etymological connection between the *Morgain* of Arthurian romance and the Irish *Muirgen* (child [lit., birth] of the sea), one of the names of an aquatic lady in early Irish romance, see *Lot, Rom.*, XXIV, 324 ff. Cf. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 373. Miss Paton (*Fairy Mythol.*, pp. 10 ff.) objects to this etymology on the ground that *Morgain* is seldom regarded as a water-dweller. It is, however, worth while to observe that *Morgain's* frequent association with the ocean island of Avalon may be a reflection of her original connection with the watery world. The *Morgan*, a kind of female water-nymph who figures in Armorican folk-lore, dwells in a magnificent palace of gold and crystal beneath the water. Cf. Villemarqué, *Barzaz Breiz*, 6th ed., Paris, 1867, p. liv. See further Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, new ed., London, 1903, p. 149.

³ Cf. Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 f. On Cuchulainn's horses, see *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II, 39; cf. pp. 62 ff.; *Ir.T.*, Extrab'd., pp. 488 f., 670, n. 5. Subaqueous horses which came out of Loch Owel are associated with a fairy mistress of the *Lanval* type in an Irish folk-tale recorded in *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 93. In a Celtic story given by Henderson (*Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, Glasgow, 1911, pp. 137 f.), a water-horse plays a part somewhat resembling that of the Offended Fée. A horse living at the bottom of a lake on the island of Mull is caught by a farmer and used for plowing. When whipped, the animal becomes a terrible Boorie, and disappears in the lake. For similar stories, see *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 106 f.; William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, 2d ser., Penzance, 1873, pp. 73 ff. St. Fechin of Fore had a water-horse which he forced to draw his chariot and which under his influence became "gentler than any other horse": *R.C.*, XII, 347. For other Celtic water-horses, see *Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, 1st ser., I (1849-51), pp. 366 f., where a water-horse becomes the lover of a mortal maiden; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, pp. 203, 214 f.; *Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, IV, 336; Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 f.; Rhys, *Celtic Folk-Lore Welsh and Manx*, I, Oxford, 1901, pp. 324, 334 ff.; *Pic Nics from the Dublin Penny Jour.*, Dublin, 1836, pp. 66 ff.

For other subaqueous animals in Celtic, cf. Campbell, *Superstitions*, p. 5; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, pp. cxlvii, 66 ff. See also above, p. 19, n. 2.

⁴ Attention should be called to the fact that in four of our mediaeval versions of the story of the Offended Fée—*Lanval*, *Graelent*, *Lo bel Gherardino*, and *Pulsella gaia*—the heroes receive fairy horses from their mistresses.

Another encounter between Cuchulainn and a supernatural woman at a ford occurs in the *Fled Bricrend acus Longes Mac n-Duil Dermait* (Feast of Bricriu and the Exile of the Sons of Doel D.), not to be confused with the longer *Fled Bricrend*, which forms part of the same cycle. In the shorter *Fled Bricrend*, which in its original form dates from the ninth century or an even earlier period,¹ Cuchulainn and his companions find at a ford a band of Connachtmen (their enemies) with Findchoem (Fair-Beautiful), the daughter of King Eocho, who, as appears later in the story, is a supernatural being. The lady declares her love for Cuchulainn, who at once takes her under his protection, carries her home, and, after going through some thrilling adventures, wins her for his mistress.

In the *Tochmarc Becfola*,² which, though found in no manuscript earlier than the fourteenth century, has been recognized as embodying very ancient tradition,³ Diarmait, son of Aed Slane (king of Ireland), meets at a ford a solitary, gorgeously appareled fairy woman (*bentside*), and takes her home as his mistress. [When questioned concerning her origin, Dermait refuses to tell.]⁴ For a time the *fée* remains with her lover, but, like many other supernatural women who condescend to dwell for a time with mortals, she at length becomes weary of her earthly life and goes off with a fairy lover.

A fairy woman by a stream also turns up in the *Acallamh na Senórach*,⁵ from which we have already had occasion to quote. On one occasion Finn and his companions find at a ford "a lone young woman girt with a silken tunic and wrapped in a green mantle held with a brooch of gold; on her head was a golden diadem, emblem of a queen." The lady announces that she is Doireann, daughter

¹ Strachan on linguistic grounds places it in a group of heroic tales which he regards as more or less faithful transcriptions of texts certainly as old as and perhaps even antedating the ninth century (*Philol. Soc. Transactions*, 1891-94, pp. 498, 555). For trans. see *Ir. T.*, II, 1, pp. 173 ff.; *L'Épopée celt. en Irlande*, Paris, 1892, pp. 149 ff. Cf. O'Curry, *Lectures*, pp. 468 f.; *On the Manners*, III, 106, 360.

² Ed. B. O'Looney, *R.I.A., Ir. MSS Ser.*, I, 1 (1870), 174 ff.; *S.G.*, II, 91 ff.

³ By O'Looney, *op. cit.*, p. 172; O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 283.

⁴ The bracketed passage is taken from the version found in the fifteenth-century MS, *Egerton 1781*.

⁵ *S.G.*, II, 220. See also *Ir. T.*, IV, 1, p. 135. In a much-abbreviated and evidently ill-comprehended modern tale recorded in the *Jour. Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, II (1902), 117, several men enter a cave and find a woman washing at a river. One of them never returns.

of Bodb Derg, son of the Dagda (i.e., she is a fairy princess), and that she desires to become Finn's mistress. The conditions she imposes are, however, so unsatisfactory that Finn declines the honor.

Though Celtic stories of fées who appeared at fountains or fords were doubtless influenced by an actual practice among the early inhabitants of Western Europe and the British Isles,¹ the passages cited above make plain the points essential for our discussion: viz., the subaqueous fairy princess was perfectly familiar to the ancient Celts, and the appearance of beautiful women from fairyland to chosen mortals beside fountains or larger bodies of water is a stock feature of Celtic fairy-mistress stories.

The facts just presented suggest that the fountain scene in *Graelent* originated in a Celtic account of a similar meeting between a fée and her mortal lover.² Though the likeness between our Celtic instances and the lover's meeting with his mistress in *Lanval* is not so striking, a comparison may prove instructive. In Marie's lay the hero is approached by two maidens carrying a gold basin and a towel from a stream to their scantily dressed mistress, who lies in a gorgeous tent near by. As Professor Schofield pointed out some years ago,³ "the maidens are simply getting water . . . for use in bathing the hands before meat" as was customary in good society during the twelfth century. If we make the almost inevitable

¹ The daughters of King Loegaire, on the occasion of their meeting with St. Patrick, were coming to the fountain "to wash their hands, as was their custom." Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, I, London, 1903, p. 255; cf. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1905, p. 138; Todd, *St. Patrick*, Dublin, 1864, p. 452. In the *Bruiden Atha* (R.C., XIV, 243), Find finds by the river Suir a herdsman's daughter washing her head, and carries her off. Cf. Atkinson, *Facs. of the Yellow Book of Lecan* (R.I.A.), pp. 13 f. In the *Esnada Tighe Buchet* Cormac finds a poor maiden by a stream, and, falling in love with her, has her brought to him by force (R.C., XXV, 19 f.; Keating, *History of Ir.* [Ir. Texts Soc.], II [1908], 305; cf. *Gaelic Journal*, V [1894-95], 186; Atkinson, *Facs. of the Book of Leinster* [R.I.A.], p. 61; Sir Samuel Ferguson, *Lays of the Western Gael*, London, 1865, pp. 243 f.). In the *Acallamh na Senórach* we read that the daughter of the king of Munster used to visit the "well of the women" every morning with her attendants, "and in its blue-surfaced water they used to wash their faces and their hands" (S.G., II, 178 f.). For other cases, see *Ir. T.*, II, 2, p. 234; R.C., VI, 179 (cf. Zimmer, *Haupt's Zt.*, XXXII, 265, n. 1; *Bibliog.*, p. 80); Ériu, II, 179 f.; III, 22 f.; R.C., XXIV, p. 133 (cf. Strachan, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1895-98, p. 79, n. 2); R.I.A., Todd Lect. Ser., VII, pp. 28 f.; R.C., XV, 425; XVI, 146, 309; *Jour. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2d ser., II (1897), 330. See further, Tacitus *Germania*, chap. 16; Caesar *B.G.* vi, 21. See also above, p. 20, n. 1.

² All the evidence at the writer's command indicates that in *Guingamor* the fountain scene has been introduced into a portion of the story to which it did not originally belong. See the remarks in the *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 387.

³ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 145; cf. Zimmermann, *Sir Landeval*, p. 57, note.

assumption that the Lay of *Lanval* is ultimately based on a tale current among the folk, we may rest assured that such preprandial niceties and twelfth-century paraphernalia as are here described were not characteristic of the society in which the original took shape. Axel Ahlström's contention that the episode in *Lanval* is a reworking of the fountain-scene in *Graelent*,¹ and that Lanval's mistress had to be satisfied to take her bath indoors because the climate of Carlisle in Cumberland (where the scene of Marie's poem is laid) was too cold to admit of beautiful fées bathing in the open, scarcely deserves consideration.² *Lanval* is not the pendant of *Graelent*, and the opening episode in the former gives no evidence of being a transformed fountain-scene.³ From our Celtic analogues it seems much more probable that originally Lanval's mistress appeared with two attendants bathing in a stream, and that when her character as a water-fée was forgotten,⁴ she was rationalized into a twelfth-century fine lady reclining in an ornate pavilion, her original scanty attire (if, indeed, she wore any clothes) was changed into a shocking deshabille, and her fairy companions were transformed into drawers

¹ *Mélanges de phil. romane*, Mâcon, 1896, p. 296.

² *Studier i den fornfranska Lais-Litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, p. 55.

³ In *Désiré* the single attendant with two basins of gold at the fountain and the mistress with another attendant "dedens une follée" near by, are probably reminiscences of a fountain scene, it is true; but the confused character of the lay taken as a whole makes it probable that we have here a later and more corrupt, rather than an earlier and purer, version of the stories told in *Lanval* and *Graelent*.

⁴ The value of the suggestion that the lady in *Lanval* was originally a water-fée is not affected by Marie's statement that she dwells in the far-off island of Avalun, nor by her own assertion that she has come a long distance to meet her lover. Chestre substitutes for the imaginary a real island, but adds the information that the lady's "fadyr was king of fayrre, | Of Occient fer and nyze (vss. 280 f.). *Occient* apparently means "ocean," which interpretation, if it be correct, connects Launfal's mistress with the watery world, and indicates that, however confused the poet may have been regarding the lady's place of residence, he had some inkling of her true character as a water-fée (cf. Schoffeld, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 171, n. 1). However this may be, misunderstanding regarding the character of the fée and the location of her realm pretty certainly existed long before the story reached the ears of Marie. Confusion regarding the location of the Other World is common, even in our earliest Celtic stories. In one of the *Dindsenchas* poems, for example, the fairy-mound of Nento is said to be *iar n-uisciu* (beyond the water) (*R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., IX [1906], 8 f.); in another text (*Ir. T.*, III, 1, p. 238) it is located *fo huisce* (under the water). See also the *Echtra Condla Chaim* (Windisch, *Kurzegefasste irische Grammatik*, pp. 118 f.) Instances might easily be multiplied. See Brown, *Iwain*, p. 40, n. 2. Cf. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, VII, 195 f. Judging by these facts, we should indeed be surprised if under rationalizing influences the subaqueous fairy world, as being least in accordance with human experience, were not replaced by the over-sea Elysium or some other more credible conception long before our story reached the ears of sophisticated writers of mediaeval romance.

of water for my lady's hands before her twelfth-century picnic luncheon.¹

THE CHARACTER OF THE FAIRY MISTRESS

In Marie's lay there is obviously nothing accidental about Lanval's meeting with the *fée*. Of the maidens who conduct him to the tent, we read:

Celes l'unt primes salué,
lur message li unt cunté.
"Sire Lanval, ma dameisele,
ki mult par est curteise e bele,
ele nus enveie pur vus:
kar i venez ensemble od nus!
Salvement vus i cunduiruns.
Veez, pres est sis paveilluns!" [vss. 69 ff.]

The *fée* too knows his name, and addresses him as soon as he enters the tent.

"Lanval," fet ele, "bels amis,
pur vus vinc jeo fors de ma terre;
de luinz vus sui venue querre.
Se vus estes pruz e curteis,
emperere ne quens ne reis
n'ot unkes tant joie ne bien;
kar jo vus aim sur tute rien" [vss. 110 ff.].

Lanval is immediately attracted by her beauty and is smitten with love.

Il l'esguarda, si la vit bele;
amurs le point de l'estencele
ki sun quer alume e esprent [vss. 117 ff.].

If she will consent to become his mistress, he will abandon all other women.

"Bele," fet il, "se vus plaiseit
e cele joie m'aveneit
que vus me volsissiez amer,
ne savriéz rien comander
que jeo ne face a mun poeir,
turt a folie u a saveir.
Jeo ferai voz comandemenz;
pur vus guerpilai tutes genz" [vss. 121 ff.].

¹ Originally the river or fountain was probably thought of as a goddess; then comes the idea of a tutelary divinity dwelling beneath the water; later the goddess of the silver wave becomes a mere water-fée; and finally we have the damsel of the romances, met, as it were, by accident beside a fountain or stream. Cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, New York, 1889, pp. 209, 212.

The fée then grants him her love, and, after forbidding him to mention her existence, bestows upon him rich gifts, and promises to meet him at any place where one

. . . peüst avoir s'amie
senz reprice e senz vileinie. [vss. 165 f.]¹

She then dismisses him.²

In *Guingamor* the lover, like Lanval, falls in love as soon as he sees the lady.

Des que Guingamors l'ot veue,
Conneuz est de sa biauté [vss. 434 f.]³

He steals her clothes, but she, far from showing any fear, addresses her would-be captor angrily, and, calling him by name, rebukes him for his discourtesy. She then takes matters into her own hands, and tells him:

Venez avant, n'aiez esfroi;
Herbergiez vos hui mes o moi [vss. 453 ff.].

She knows the purpose of his hunt, and offers to bestow on him the boar if he will live with her for three days. Upon his acquiescing, she receives him as her lover.

These ladies, who so boldly offer themselves to men, have long since reminded scholars of the forth-putting women with which the pages of early Celtic literature are filled.⁴ In early Irish saga both

¹ In the ancient Irish romance of the *Serglige Conchulainn*, which contains the story of the Offended Fée combined with the preliminary Journey to the Other World, Cuchulainn, on returning to the world of mortals, receives from his mistress a promise that she will meet him wherever he desires (*L'Épopée celtique*, I, 208; *Facs. of Nat'l. MSS of Ir.*, II, IV-H). Cf. *Tochmarc Émire, Cuch. Saga*, p. 82.

² The English *Sir Launfal* contains a very similar dialogue, except that the hero, instead of voluntarily promising, is required by his mistress, to give up all other women for her. In Chrestre's poem *Triamour* (the lady of the tent) tells Launfal:

Yf thou wyll truly to me take,
And all women for me forsake,
Ryche i wyll make the [vss. 316 ff.].

It should be observed that in the *Tochmarc Édáine* the lover promises, and that in the *Aídead Murchetaig* he is required, to forsake all earthly women for the fée.

³ Mortal women also have a way of falling in love with fairy lovers on sight. Cf. *Lay of Ynec* (Warnke, *Die Lais*, pp. 123 ff.; *R.C.*, XXXI, 413 ff.); *Lay of Tydorel* (*Rom.*, VIII, 67 ff. v. 71.). In Christianized versions of fairy-mistress stories the fée is not infrequently mistaken for an angel or the Virgin Mary. Cf. Child, *Ballads*, I, 319; II, 504; *Sir Lambell*, vs. 136; *Libeaus Desconus*, st. 127, l. 1, 519 ff.; Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 77, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. Nutt, *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888, p. 232. Schofield in 1900 compared the episode of the forth-putting queen in our poems with the Morrigan's offer of love and Cuchulainn's rebuff in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 147, n. 1). See further, Nitze, *Mod. Philol.*, IX, 315 f.

the fée and her mortal prototype generally take the initiative in love-making.¹ As Heinrich Zimmer showed in one of his latest discussions,² the women of early Irish saga exhibit a freedom in sexual matters which is quite foreign to the great Aryan peoples—a situation which points to a high degree of antiquity for the traditions recorded, and may even reflect a pre-Celtic (non-Aryan) culture.

A dialogue strikingly similar to that between the fée and Lanval occurs in the passage summarized above from the *Tochmarc Étaíne*. As soon as Eochaid sees Étain at the fountain, "a longing for her immediately seized the king" (*gabais . . . saint an rí[g] n-limpe focétoir*). He thereupon sends forward one of his retinue to seize the girl and hold her before him. On his inquiring whence she comes, the maiden replies, "I am Étain, daughter of the king of the horsemen from the elf-mounds" (*Étainmissi, ingen Étaí ri eochraidi a sídib*). She also tells him that though fairy kings have wooed her, she would none of them. She has come for the sole purpose of meeting Eochaid, for, she explains, "Ever since I was able to speak, I have loved thee and given thee a child's love for the high tales about thee and thy splendour. And though I had never seen thee, I knew thee at once from thy description" (*rot-carusa [7 tucus] seirc lelbhan o ba tualaing labartha ar th'airscelaib 7 t'anius, 7 ní-tacca riam, 7 atot-gen focétoir ar do thuarascbaíl*).³ On hearing these

¹ It is important to note that the term *aitheda* (applied to a well-known class of early Irish stories which tell how maidens or wives ran away with lovers) signifies "elopements," not, as often translated, "abductions."

² *Sitzungsberichte der königl.-preuss. Gesell. der Wiss.*, 1911, pp. 174 ff. Cf. *R.C.*, XXXII (1911), 232. See further d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur le Droit Celtique*, I, Paris, 1895, pp. 224 ff.

³ So too the Morrighu has fallen in love with Cuchulainn from hearsay (*Cattle-Raid of Cualnge*, trans. by Miss W. L. Faraday [Grimm Lib., 16], London, 1904, p. 74; *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., pp. 312 ff.; Introd., pp. xxvii f.). "Love in absence" (Lat. *amor in absentia*, *Ir. grád écaimisi*) is common in folk-lore. In Celtic, see *R.C.*, XXIV, 128; *Peredur ab Efrwac*, ed. Kuno Meyer, Leipzig, 1887, p. 27, sec. 58, ll. 10 f.; Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 98 (cf. I, 248); Ériu, III, 153; *Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. O'Donovan), I, p. 18, n. 5; p. 30; *Ir. T.*, II, 1, p. 80; II, 2, p. 216 f.; III, 2, pp. 301 f.; *S.G.*, II, 120, 214, 307; *Laoidh Oisín*, *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, IV, 239 f.; *C.Z.*, VI, 107, n. 1; *Folk Lore*, III, 506; *Battle of Magh Leana*, ed. E. Curry (Celtic Soc.), 1855, p. xxi; Keating, *History of Ir.*, (*Ir. Texts Soc.*), II (1908), 165, 217, 283; Meyer, *Cath Finntraga* (Anec. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Ser. I, iv), Oxford, 1885, p. 6, cf. p. 78; Plummer, *Vitas Sanctorum Hib.*, I, cxxxiii, n. 1; *C.Z.*, V, 26. See further the *Green Knight* (*Percy Folio MS.*, p. 60, vs. 47); *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, XXX, 56, 82, 83; *Perceval*, vss. 10,385, 12,157 ff., 29,035 ff.; *Partonopeus*, vs. 1,368; *Yonec*, vss. 131 f.; Walter Map (*De Nugis Cur.*, Dist. III, c. ii, ed. cit., pp. 108 f.). Cf. Hartland, *Leg. of Perceus*, III, London, 1894, p. 9; *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, New York, 1891, pp. 285 ff.; Pietro Toldo, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 621; Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems* (trans. Schofield), London, 1899, pp. 190, 194; *Faerie Queens*, Book III, li, 18. Professor

words, the king bids her welcome, and assures her, "Every other woman shall be forsaken for thee, and with thee alone will I be as long as thou has honor" (*lecfider cach bean do mnaib airiut, 7 is acut t'aenur biasa cein bas miad lat*). Etain now accompanies the king to Tara and becomes his wife.

The dialogue between Muirchertach and the fée in the *Aided Muirchertaig* is also worthy of attention. As soon as the king saw Sín, "all his body and his nature were filled with love for her, for gazing at her it seemed to him that he would give the whole of Ireland for one night's loan of her, so utterly did he love her at sight" (*linustar a cholann uile dá grad, 7 a aigned, uair dar leis re féad doberad Érin uile ar a hiasacht oén-aidche, mar do char co hadbal hi re faicsin*). He "asked tidings of her," whereupon she replied, "I am the darling of Muirchertach son of Ere, king of Erin, and to seek him I came here" (*leannansa do Muirchertach mac Erca, do rig Ereann, 7 is da shaigid tánagus inso*). She recognizes the king at once, and agrees to become his mistress on conditions much like those imposed by the fairy women in the Old French lays: for her he must abandon all other women, and he must never mention her name.

In one of the episodes summarized from the *Acallamh na Senórach*, the beautiful Aillenn, on being asked by the king of Connacht whence she comes, replies that she is from fairyland. "For what hast thou come?" says the king. "Thou art a sweetheart of mine," is the reply. In the story of Doireann from the same document the lone woman at the ford, on seeing the Fenian band, asks at once to speak to Finn. To the latter's question, "Who art thou, maiden, and what is thy desire?" she replies that she is a fairy princess, and adds, "To sleep with thee in exchange for bride-price and gifts have I come" (*d'feis letsu thanac tarcend tindscra 7 tirochraici: ll. 4452 f.*)¹.

In the shorter *Fled Bricrend* also the woman at the stream recognizes Cuchulainn at once and declares her love for him. "Who is it that you seek?" she is asked. "Cuchulaind mac Soaltam," she replies; "I have loved him because of the stories about him"

George L. Hamilton refers me also to Chauvin, *Bibliog. des ouvrages arabes*, pp. 132, 255; Paris, *Rev. hist.*, pp. 53, 225; *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 152; E. Liebrecht, *Gott. gel. Anzeigen*, 1868, p. 196.

¹ O'Grady's translation of this passage (*S.G.*, II, 220) is inexact.

(*Cuchulaind mac Soaltain* *ro charus ar a airsclaib*). She then asks for mercy, whereupon Cuchulainn "makes a hero-leap across to her." "She rises toward him, and throws both hands about his neck and gives him a kiss." Cuchulainn then takes her home with him.¹

The dialogue between the prince and Rhiannon in the *Mabinogi* of *Pwyll* is of especial importance. As soon as Pwyll comes near the mysterious lady on the white horse, he inquires, "'Princess, whence comest thou and why art thou travelling?'" 'On my own errand,' answered she, 'and I am glad to see thee.' 'Welcome' [replied the prince]. Then he thought the face of all the maidens or women he had ever seen possessed no charm compared with hers (*yna medylhaw a wnaeth bot yn diuwyn ganthaw pryt a welsei eiryoet o vorwyn a gwreic y wrth y phryt hi*). 'Princess,' he continued, 'wilt thou tell me a word of thy errand?' 'Yes, by heaven,' answered she, 'my principal business was to seek to see thee.'" (*Pennaf neges uu ymi keisaw dy welet ti*). At these words Pwyll expresses gratification, and inquires the lady's name. She replies that she is Rhiannon, and adds that though she has been urged to take a husband, she will marry no one but him (*Riannon verch heueyd hen wyf i am rodi y wr om hanvod yd ydys. Ac ny mynnais inheu un gwr. A hynny oth garyat ti. Ac nys mynnaf etlwa. onyt ti am gwrthyt*). "If I were permitted to choose among all the women and damsels in the world," answers the prince, "I would choose thee" (*pei caffwn dewis ar holl wraged a morynyon y byt. mae ti a dewissun*).

The striking similarity between the dialogues in the Celtic and the Romance accounts outlined above hardly needs emphasizing.²

¹ See also the words of Cuchulainn and the Morrighu in the passage cited above from the *Táin Bó Cuáinge*. For similar dialogues, see *Laoidh Oisín* (ed. cit., pp. 235 ff.); *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind* (*Ériu*, III, 153). In the latter the confusion in persons is probably due to the fact that the romance is a combination of at least two different stories.

² The likeness of the dialogue in the *Tochmarc Étdine* to that between a mortal and fée in the *Lay of Melion* has been used by Professor Kittredge in connection with his argument for the Celtic origin of the latter. ([Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII [1903], 192 f.) Melion while hunting encounters a beautiful maiden riding toward him through the forest. He salutes her, and addresses her as follows:

"Dites moi dont vos estes née
Et que ici vos a menée."
Cele respont: "Jel vos dirai,
Que ja de mot ne mentirai.
Je sui assée de haut parage,
Et née de gentil lignage;
D'Yrlande sui a vos venue;

In every case the woman does the wooing. Even before the mortal arrives, she knows and loves him, and she has come for the sole purpose of meeting him and declaring her affection. Her love is irresistible,¹ and she bestows it where she wills. She is, however, never coerced into becoming the mistress of anyone,² and when she joins her fortunes to those of a mortal, she proposes her own conditions, which must be fulfilled to the letter if her lover is to enjoy her favor.

Viewed in the light of the passages quoted above, the behavior of Graeent's mistress shows certain inconsistencies which can hardly be explained as the result of mere feminine caprice. On seeing the lady bathing with her damsels in the fountain, the hero, like Lanval, falls in love at once. After watching her for some time, he steals up quietly and gets possession of her clothes. The lady is at once filled with terror and begs him to return her garments, even going so far as to offer him money. When, however, Graeent replies that he is not a seller of clothes and boldly asks her love, she treats him with scorn. The knight now threatens to leave her naked in the forest unless she comes out of the water. She does so, but not

Sachies que je sui mout vo drue;
Onques home fors vos n'amai,
Ne jamais plus n'en ameral.
Forment vos ai ol loer;
Onques ne volole altre amer
Fors vos tot seul, ne jamais for
Vers nul autre n'avrai amor" [vss. 103 ff.].

Mellon takes the lady home and marries her.
In Manneker's continuation of Chretien's *Perceval* (ed. Potvin), a she-devil (Christianized fée) visits Perceval and tells him:

Sachés que de lointaine terre
Sui chi venue por vous querre,
Je vous conois, en moie fol,
Moult mius ke vous ne faites moi;
Alours de chi vous ai vœu,
Ne vous ai pas mescounëu [vss. 40589 ff.].

See further *Thomas of Erceidoun* (vss. 75 ff.); *Thomas Rymer* (Child, *Ballads*, No. 37, A, st. 4); *Brun de la Montaigne* (vss. 3104 ff.).

¹ Though the irresistibility of the fairy spell seems to have bred a certain amount of fear and suspicion even among the early Irish and though mortals are scarcely ever quite happy under fairy influence, the other-world women of pagan Celtic story were an infinitely less pernicious race than the malignant female demons (transformed fées) who make love to mortals in some Christianized versions of our theme. On the harmless character of the early Celtic fée, see Beauvois, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, VII (1883), 317 f. A good example of the Christianized type is furnished by *Peter von Staufenberg* (see above, p. 8, n. 2). For confusions of fées with demons in Celtic, see *L'Épopée celt. en Irlande*, I, 192; *Ir. T.*, IV, 1, pp. 242 ff.; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.*, I, clix, n. 8; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 70 f., 105; cf. Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, II, 190 f.

² Cf. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888, p. 232; A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 26.

until she has exacted a promise, "k'il ne li face nul anui" (vs. 257). When she is dressed, Graellent takes her into the dark forest, and there "a fait de li ce que li plest." The lady now changes her manner with astonishing suddenness. She informs Graellent that she has come to the fountain purposely to meet him; she gives him her love, promises him bountiful treasures, and declares that she will be with him whenever he desires. She warns him, however, that if at any time he reveals their relations, he will lose her.

Graelent, vos estes leiaus
 Prox e curtois e assés biax:
 Pur vus ving jou à la fontaine,
 Pur vus souferai jou grant paine;
 Bien saveie ceste aventure [vss. 315 ff.].

Having won her affection, Graellent assures her that he will love her loyally and well and will never part from her.

As Professor Schofield pointed out some years ago,¹ the inconsistency here lies in the fact that the lady, though at first apparently surprised and terror-stricken, later betrays the fact that she already knows her would-be captor and in fact has come to the fountain for the special purpose of meeting him. This contradiction Professor Schofield thinks is due to the influence of Germanic swan-maiden stories—a type of folk-tale in which a supernatural woman appears in swan form at a lake or fountain, and may easily be captured when deprived of her feather garment, which she lays aside before entering the water and without which she is absolutely powerless. Like the Celtic *fée*, she is beautiful, but she is a weak, helpless creature, entirely lacking in the independence and regal condescension of her forth-putting kinswoman.

The suggestion that the inconsistency in the language and attitude of Graellent's mistress is due to the influence of Germanic tradition requires examination. The two types of supernatural beings known as the "Celtic *fée*" and the "Germanic swan-maiden" (the former bold and imperious, the latter timorous and shrinking), are but the reflections of two different types of woman found in real life in different stages of the development of the human race. The heroine of our earliest Irish sagas and romantic tales is the

¹ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 132 ff.

product of an extremely ancient social system, Celtic or pre-Celtic, in which, as Zimmer has shown, women exercised an astonishing freedom in the choice or abandonment of their mates, as well as in their general attitude toward the opposite sex. Under a different social system, where marriage by capture was practiced or where marital bonds, once formed, were less easily severed, other-worldly maidens (like their mortal prototypes) were more skittish and could be induced to join their fortunes to those of mortal lovers only by guile.

Which of these two social systems is the older does not concern us here.¹ The one which finally became established in Western Europe was that in accordance with which the man does the wooing, the woman playing a more or less passive rôle both before and during the marriage ceremony; hence the second type of fairy mistress gradually triumphed and still predominates in popular and sophisticated literature. The process must have begun early, for even in our oldest Irish sagas there are inconsistencies explicable only on the hypothesis that during the early Christian centuries stories originating in a society where woman took the lead in matrimonial affairs were being retold by people among whom she was more coy and retiring. It is therefore in the highest degree probable that the other-world woman of the swan-maiden type, generally regarded as distinctively characteristic of Germanic tradition, figured in Celtic popular literature before the twelfth century.² Side by side with her

¹ The old view that the position of women, even among the less advanced races of savage people, is necessarily one of abject servitude needs to be modified (see Westermarck, "The Position of Woman in Early Civilization," *Sociological Papers*, published by the Sociological Society, London, 1905, p. 147 ff.). MacCulloch (*Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 223) suggests that the prominence accorded to goddesses and heroines and the frequency with which women choose their mates in the early Irish sagas, point to a state of society in which matriarchy was prevalent (cf. D'Arbols, *Nouv. rev. hist. de droit*, XV [1891], 304 f.); and Hartland (*Sci. of Fairy Tales*, p. 289) thinks that stories in which women have power reflect the matriarchal stage of culture and calls attention to the fact that the persecuting husband appears only in later versions; but especial emphasis should be laid on Crawley's assertion that "there is no evidence that the maternal system was ever general or always preceded the paternal" (*The Mystic Rose*, p. 369). On the position of women in early Celtic civilization, see R.C., XXXI, 454, n. 1; Stokes, *Anecdota Ozon.* (Med. and Mod. Ser., 5), p. cxi; *Bibliog.*, p. 256 f. On the evidence for matriarchy among the early Celts, see MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 222 f.; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 50.

² The captured fée is found in a number of early Celtic traditions. The following story is told by Walter Map (*De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. II, c. xii, *ed. cit.*, p. 79 ff.) concerning Wild Edric (lord of Ledbury North, on the border of Wales) and probably embodies a Celtic tradition current during the twelfth century. One day, while returning from the hunt, Edric loses his way in the forest. About midnight he comes to a brilliantly lighted house, within which he sees a band of lovely women. Smitten

there existed the so-called typically Celtic fairy-princess, who, long after the disappearance of the conditions which gave her birth, remained a stock figure in traditional tales, and who found greater favor with the writers of French romance because she fitted more readily into writings designed to exemplify certain doctrines of Courtly Love.¹ That the two types should have become confused in popular tradition is inevitable. The unreasonableness in the behavior of Graellent's mistress can therefore be most easily explained on the hypothesis that the lay in question is based directly or indirectly on a Celtic account in which the forth-putting fée was confused with the captured swan-maiden.²

with love, he seizes the most beautiful and carries her home. She yields to his caresses, but remains mute for three days. On the fourth day she exclaims, "Hail, my dearest!" and tells her lover that he will be happy and prosperous until he reproaches her with the place where she was found or "concerning anything of the sort." The lover promises to avoid the forbidden subject, but of course breaks his word and loses his wife. He dies of grief.

It will be recalled that in the *Tochmarc Étaíne* (one of our earliest cases) the king has Étaíne seized before he addresses her and that in the shorter *Fled Bricrend* an already captive maiden appeals to her future lover for help. In the undoubtedly pre-twelfth-century *Aided Echach mheic Mhairéda* (*S.G.*, II, 265 ff.), a mermaid is represented as being caught in a net. For another version of the story, see *Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. Stokes (*Hy. Bradshaw Soc.*, XXIX), p. 53.

The frequency with which the timorous fée, helpless in the hands of her mortal captor, turns up in Irish, Scottish, and Welsh fairy-mistress stories taken down from popular sources in recent years can hardly be explained satisfactorily except on the hypothesis that she has long been indigenous to Celtic soil. A familiar Irish tradition tells how the Earl of Desmond found the lake-fée Aine combing her hair at the water's edge and by stealing her cloak won her love (*R. C.*, IV [1879-80], 186 ff.). For other examples see Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, Boston, 1906, p. 38; Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, pp. 121 f.; *Folk-Lore*, XXI, 341; *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 187, 188, 192; V, 93, 118 f., 120 f.; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 201. See further, below, p. 34, n. 2.

Professor Nitze calls my attention to the fact that in the French Epic, which many consider Germanic in origin, woman often takes the initiative in love-making. In this connection he refers me to *Raoul de Cambrai*, vss. 5,696 ff.; Nitze, *Mod. Philol.*, IX, 315 ff.; Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, pp. 306 ff.

¹ Cf. Nutt's remarks, *Pop. Studies in Mythology, Romance and Folklore*, London, 1899, p. 26. An apparent reflection of this type, probably colored more or less by Christian prejudice, is found in modern Celtic folk-tales in which amorous fées carry off men against their will. Cf. *Celtic Mag.*, IX (1884), 208 f.; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 100.

² The signs of confusion indicated above (p. 33, n. 2) as occurring in early Celtic literature are even more marked in modern Celtic versions of the Offended Fée. The following tale is translated by Sir John Rhys from the Welsh of Glasynys (Owen Wyn Jones) (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 86 ff.). A poor fisherman "makes the acquaintance of" a mermaid in a cave on the seacoast. At first the water-woman screeches wildly, but soon becomes calm enough to warn her captor against her brother and make an appointment with him for the next day. She then departs, but later appears dressed "like a lady," and tells him that though she is a king's daughter, she has "come to live among the inhabitants of the land." She has "a cap of wonderful workmanship," which,

It is obvious that in both *Graelent* and *Guingamor* the garments by which the fountain ladies set such store are rationalized feather-skins,¹ and are derived ultimately from stories of animal marriages. To peoples in the animistic or totemistic stages of culture unions

instead of preserving carefully as her only means of returning to her native element, she stupidly presents to her lover with the ridiculous injunction that he shall always keep it out of her sight. The two are now married. After several years of wedded felicity, the wife, on finding that her real character has been discovered by one of her children, dives into the sea, carrying her husband with her. The cap, without which she ought to be powerless to return to the Other World, has dropped out of the story.

In another Welsh tale, current in the neighborhood of Bedd Gelert and said to have variants in many parts of Wales, a youth captures a fairy woman, but the lady agrees to marry him only on condition that he discover her name. This he succeeds in doing, but before the fée will become his wife, she imposes the further condition that he shall never touch her with iron. Long she remains with him, and his affairs prosper greatly, but when at length he accidentally touches her with an iron bit, she disappears (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 59 ff.; cf. D. E. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*, Portmadoc, 1899, pp. 161 ff.; *Y Cymmrodor* IV, 180 ff.). According to a literary version of the same story, the fée, instead of showing fear at her lover's approach, exclaims, "Idol of my hopes, thou hast come at last!" The prohibition against touching the wife with iron is here imposed by the father, an indication that the lady, instead of being free, is hampered by paternal control (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 63 ff.). Cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 180, 188, 191, 201, 208. According to a variant, which seems to have come from the vicinity of Llanberis, a lake fée, on being seized by a farmer, screams lustily, whereupon her father appears and imposes a somewhat similar condition before he will allow the wedding to take place (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 94 ff.). See further the Carmarthenshire story told by Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 275 f.

A Breton folk-tale taken down in 1873 and recorded by Luzel (*Contes pop. de Basse Bretagne*, II, 349 ff.), tells how a shepherd boy sees at a pond three white swans which have the power of transforming themselves into beautiful girls. By his grandmother's advice he steals the swan-garment of the youngest and most attractive. As in *Graelent*, the maiden alternately prays and scolds, but the youth holds on to her covering until she promises to transport him to her palace beyond the sea. On arriving in fairyland, the shepherd becomes the fée's lover.

In an Irish popular story translated by George Dottin (*Contes et Légendes d'Irlande*, pp. 7 ff.), a boy, while sitting on the shore, sees three swans approach him across the ocean. The birds eat the bread-crumbs which he offers them, but when he attempts to catch them, they elude his grasp. Drawn by an irresistible impulse, the youth follows them across the ocean, paddling himself on a plank. He at last reaches a beautiful palace under the sea, where he finds three fair ladies. He later returns to earth, but pines away and dies of longing for the swan-women. This story suggests the well-known Carmarthenshire tradition copied by Rhys (*Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 164 ff.) from Rees's *The Physicians of Myddvai* (Welsh MS Soc.), Llandovery, 1861: a youth wins the love of a water-fée by a gift of bread, but loses his mistress by breaking her command. Cf. Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 189.

¹ As early as 1837 F. Wolf, reviewing Michel's edition of *Desiré*, regarded the line "Sanz guimpe estel échovelée," applied to the attendant at the fountain, as an indication of her original swan-maiden character. "Die hier angeführte Jungfrau ist offenbar eine Schwanjungfrau; die ihr Schwanhemd abgelegt (sanz guimpe), um in der Quelle zu baden (vgl. J. Grimm, *deutsche Mythologie*, S. 241)." See *Kleinere Schriften von Ferdinand Wolf*, ed., E. Stengel, Marburg, 1890, p. 128, n. 1. Stengel reprints Wolf's review as it appeared in the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, Berlin, 1837, Bd. II, Sp. 139-58. It may be suggested that the unnecessary display of the fée's person in *Lanval* (en sa chemise seulement . . . tut ot decouvert le costé, le vis, le col e la peitrine), is also a reminiscence of an earlier bathing scene.

between men and animals are perfectly natural and acceptable,¹ but to later and more enlightened peoples the moral and intellectual shock is too great. The bride, at first an animal *sans phrase*, becomes a supernatural woman in animal form,² and finally a fairy maiden whose power resides in her clothing. The predominance among civilized peoples of the swan over the many other forms of animal bride known to savages is probably due to a recognition of its peculiar appropriateness as a disguise for a beautiful *fée*. The natural association of swans with water furnishes an easy explanation of the confusion between swan-women and water-fées, as in so many versions of the Offended *Fée*, including our two Old French poems.

That supernatural women who appear in the form of swans are not exclusively denizens of Germanic territory should be obvious to all students of popular literature.³ As indicated above, unions between men and animals are found the world over.⁴ Early Celtic literature contains many accounts of other-world women who appear in the form of birds. Of the cases most clearly germane to the present discussion may be mentioned the fairy mistresses of Oengus (*Aislinge*

¹ Cf. S. Reinach, *Cults, Myths and Religions*, pp. 6 f.

² In rationalized versions of the folk-tale of the Offended *Fée* the swan form of the lady is not infrequently explained as due to enchantment. Cf. *Bibl. des litt. Ver. in Stuttgart*, CCXXVII, lxxv f.

³ On swan-maidens in general, see Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 256 ff.; Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, Introd., esp. pp. lxi f. (cf. Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889, I, 116 ff., 241 ff.; II, 427, 432; Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.*, Berlin, 1875, pp. 254 ff. Professor Hamilton also refers me to Hoffmann u. Grimm, *Alteutsche Blätter*, I, 128 ff.; Groome, *Gypsy Folk Tales*, No. 50, pp. 188 ff.; Frobenius, *Im Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, I, 304 ff.; P. Ehrenreich, *Myth. u. Leg. der südamerik. Urvölker*, Berlin, 1905, p. 72 (*Zt. f. Ethn.*, Supplement to v. 37); E. Maas, *N. J. f. kl. Alt.*, XXVII, 26, n. 4 (referring to Anton. Liberal, 16). See further *Nibelungenlied* (ed. Bartsch), *Äventiure* XXV, st. 1533 ff.; cf. Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 134.

⁴ Animal mates other than the swan occur in Celtic folk-lore. A passage in the fourteenth-century manuscript H. 2. 16 (T.C.D.) tells how a water-horse was the lover of a mortal maiden and by her became the father of a monstrosity (*Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, 1st ser., I [1849-51], 366 f.). The famous Oisín was the son of a deer. See *Silva Gadetica*, II, 476, 522. Cf. MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 150; R. I. A., Todd Lect. Ser. XVI, p. xxviii, n. 3; Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, Longmans, 1903, II, 460. For other Celtic water-horse stories which seem to preserve traces of animal-marriages, see above, p. 22, n. 3. Cf. Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Ir. Celts*, p. 122. In a Breton folk-tale (Luzel, *Contes pop. de Basse Bretagne*, I, 291 ff.), a nobleman marries a wild sow. After bearing nine children, the animal becomes a beautiful princess. See also the various accounts of seal-wives in Celtic (enumerated below, p. 37, n. 3). Cf. Hartland, *op. cit.*, pp. 299 ff. On animal marriages see further, *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, XII (1899), 22 f.; XVIII (1905), 6.

*Oengusso*¹ and Cuchulainn (*Tochmarc Émire*),² who appear to their lovers in swan form by the side of a lake; and the beautiful Etain, who disappears from her husband's dwelling in the form of a swan.³

The conclusion of the whole matter is that the fundamental elements of the fountain episodes in *Graelent* and *Guingamor* were probably accessible in Celtic tradition before the twelfth century, and that therefore it is unnecessary to look for them elsewhere.⁴

¹ *R.C.*, III, 349. The swan-maiden character of the heroine is recognized by Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, p. 259, n. 1, and by Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 196, note. Cf. T. W. Rolleston, *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, London, 1911, pp. 121 f.

² *Arch. Rev.*, I, 304; Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 82 (cf. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894 ff., II, 50, 255).

³ Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ir.*, II, 161; *C.Z.*, V, 534. For other cases see *Serglige Conchulainn* (Thurneysen, *Sagen*, p. 82; D'Arbois, *L'Épopée celt. en Ir.*, I, 170 ff.; *Facs. of Nat'l. MSS of Ir.*, I, xxxvii); *Bibliog.*, p. 94; *Aided Conrói maic Dáiri* (*Ériu*, II, 18 ff.; *C.Z.*, III, 40 ff.); *Comert Conchulainn* (Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 15); *Acallamh na Senórach* (*Ir. T.*, IV, 1, p. 242 ff.; *S.G.*, II, 141); *Bruiden Da Chocae* (*R.C.*, XXI, 155). See further *Aidead Chlainne Lir* (Joyce, *Old Celt. Romances*, pp. 1 ff.; cf. *Bibliog.*, pp. 82 f.); D'Arbois, *La Civilisation des Celtes*, etc., Paris, 1899, pp. 194 ff.; *Les Druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux*, Paris, 1906, pp. 141 ff.; Cross, *R.C.*, XXXI, 435 ff.; cf. *R.C.*, XX, 89 f., 209 f.; *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, V (1860), 235; Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, 97, 148, 307, n. 2 (cf. p. 265, n. 7; II, 12 f.); W. Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances*, London, 1893, p. 183 (cf. p. 186); *R.C.*, IV, 188 (where the son of a fée appears in the form of a goose); and *Y Cymmrodor* IV, 177 f. (where in one version of the Myddval story the lover "thought [the fairy woman] was a goose"). See also Gervais of Tilbury, *Ot. Imp.*, pp. 115 f. In Todd's *Irish Nennius* (Dublin, 1848, pp. 210 f.) a man brings down with a stone a swan which immediately becomes a woman. For modern Celtic examples of the fairy mistress in swan form, see Luzel, *Contes pop. de Basse-Bretagne*, II, 349 ff.; Dottin, *Contes et Légendes d'Irlande*, pp. 7 ff. In the Scottish Highlands the sea-maiden may be captured when she is deprived of her skin. Her covering must, however, be carefully guarded, for if she gets possession of it, she is sure to slip it on and go back to her native element. There are many tales of unions between fishermen and sea-maidens. In some stories the supernatural wife is a seal (silkie). When the animal lays aside its skin, it becomes a woman. See Kennedy's account of the fisherman who got a silkie wife by stealing her skin (*Legendary Fictions of the Ir. Celts*, pp. 122 f.). For another version, see Keightley, *The Fairy Mythol.*, London, 1860, pp. 163, 169 f. In more rationalized versions the *muir-óigh* (sea-maiden) has "a cap of salmon skin" (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 93) or "a nice little magical cap" (Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 121). Whoever gets the head-gear has the lady in his power. See further Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ir.*, Boston, 1906, p. 38; *Folk-Lore*, XXI, 184, 483. For other magic talismans owned by fairy-women, see Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.*, p. 355; Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 154 ff.

⁴ Professor Schofield believes that the particular form of Germanic swan-maiden story which influenced the lay of *Graelent* was that connected with Wayland the Smith and his two brothers. It is referred to in the *Völundarkviða* and is told in greater detail in the fourteenth century German romance of *Friedrich von Schwaben*. The title of the French poem he thinks results from the identification of the Old French *G(u)alant* (Wayland) with Gradlon Mor (Muer), a legendary Armorican king of the fifth century (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 128 ff.; cf. Koehler, Warnke's *Die Lais*, p. cxiv). The difficulty in deriving *Graelent Mor* from *Gradlon Mor* does not seem to be materially lessened by the introduction of the name *G(u)alant* into the problem. Moreover, as I have shown above, the swan-maiden elements in *Graelent* may be accounted for on a less

THE GES

In at least one of the Celtic stories outlined above—the *Aided Muirchertaig*—the fairy mistress lays upon her lover a *ges*, or tabu: Muirchertaig must never mention her name. Injunctions to silence in love, so common everywhere in popular stories of the Offended Fée, appear to have had their origin, not only in considerations of practical prudence, but also in that elaborate system of prohibitions with which early society is “entangled and hidebound.” As Crawley observes, “the universal desire for solitude during the performance of certain physical functions, shared by man with the higher animals, is an extension of the organic instinct for safety and self-preservation. These functions, especially the nutritive, sexual, and excretory, are not only of supreme importance in organic life, but their performance exposes the individual to danger, by rendering him defenceless for the time being.”¹ Probably some such consideration as this underlies the savage custom which requires that for a certain period the lover shall visit his mistress, the husband his wife, secretly.² Again, among peoples relatively close to the primitive stage of culture, one’s name is regarded as being in a very emphatic sense a part of one’s self, and as such it must be guarded with the greatest care lest it become known to an enemy, who may use it to the detriment of the owner.³ Thus supernatural beings the world over, following the example of the mortals to whose imagination they owe their existence, shrink from publicity. None but the chosen lover must

complicated hypothesis; and the theft of the garments occurs in *Guingamor*, the title of which is not connected with the name G(u)alant. Attention should be called to the possibility that the swan-maiden episode in the *Völundarkviða* originated in Celtic tradition. It formed no part of the original Wayland saga (R. C. Boer, *Arkiv för nordisk Filol.*, XXIII [n. f. XIX] [1907], 129 ff.); the story, which Bugge thinks reached the Scandinavians from England, makes one of the three maidens the daughter of an Irish king (Klavalr Cearball); and the author had probably traveled in the British Isles (“The Norse Lay of Wayland and its Relation to English Tradition,” *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, II (1898–1901), 283, 294 ff.; cf. *Arkiv för nordisk Filol.*, XXVI (n. f. XXII), (1910), 33 ff.; *Home of the Eddic Poems*, pp. 10, 390).

¹ *The Mystic Rose*, p. 134.

² See MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, New York, 1905, pp. 328, 336; J. J. Atkinson in Andrew Lang’s *Social Origins*, Longmans, 1903, p. 265; Kittredge, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, X (1889), 19. See further S. Reinach, *Cults, Myths and Religions* (trans., E. Frost), p. 36. Cf. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, clxxxiii.

³ Lord Avebury, *Marriage, Totemism and Religion*, Longmans, 1911, p. 119; MacCulloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, p. 337; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3d ed., II (“Taboo,” etc.), London, 1911, pp. 318 ff.; Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 309 ff.

know of his fairy mistress's existence, lest others acquire the power which he alone should possess.¹

As a prohibition similar to that in the *Aided Muirchertaig* forms an important part of the lays we are examining, and as it occurs in another Irish story of the Offended Fée in the World of Mortals, we must again summarize.

The *Noinden Ulad* (Nine Days' Sickness of the Ulstermen) is a very ancient Irish tale. It is found in the *Book of Leinster*, and is mentioned in the same codex as one of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*²—facts which prove its existence and popularity prior to the middle of the twelfth century. Its highly barbaric character, to which attention will be drawn later, also speaks strongly for its antiquity. The following summary is based on Windisch's translation of the *Leinster* copy, with a few details added from the version contained in the fifteenth-century manuscript, *Harleian 5280*.³

"The debility of the Ulstermen, whence comes it? Not hard [to answer]!" Crunniuc, son of Agnoman, was a wealthy farmer. After the death of his wife he lived a solitary life in the mountains.

¹ Among certain savage tribes "persons most intimately connected by blood and especially by marriage . . . are often forbidden, not only to pronounce each other's names, but even to utter ordinary words which resemble or have a single syllable in common with these names" (Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 335). Among the Teherkes it is a gross insult to ask a man how his wife is (MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 336). For modern Celtic folk-tales containing tabus imposed by fairy wives, see *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 165 ff. See further Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.*, pp. 353 ff.; Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 186 ff. ("Das Namensgeheimnis"); Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 312 f.; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 77, 94 ff. On the dislike of fairies for being seen by mortals, cf. *Jour. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2d ser., I, 137; II, 319; XVII, 122, 127; *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, III, 98 f.; MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 130; Miss Hull, *Folk Lore* (1901), p. 51; Reiffenberg, *Chev. au Cygne*, pp. lxxii, lvi f. Compare the attitude of the other-world lovers in the lays of *Ynec* (cf. *R.C.*, XXXI, 457, n. 2) and *Tydorel* (*Rom.*, VIII, vss. 69 f., 214). The Celtic peasant of the isolated districts prefers to call the fairies the *daoine maith* (good people), *daoine beaga* (little people), or *tylwynth teg* (fair family), rather than speak of them by their real name, lest by so doing he incur their displeasure. Compare the Greek Eumenides and the Hebrew euphemistic names for the Deity. See further Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 392 ff. See also the tabus in the stories of Cupid and Psyche, of Melusine, and of Lohengrin. See further *Partonopeus*, ed. Crâpelet, vss. 4,512 ff.; Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

² D'Arbois, *Catalogue*, p. 89. O'Curry thinks it was known to the compiler of the list of heroic tales in *LL* (*Lectures*, pp. 584 ff., n. 130).

³ *Ber. über die Verhandlungen der. königl. sächs. Gesell. der Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Ct.*, XXXVI (1884), 342 ff. Cf. Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, pp. 97 ff. For other translations see *Bibliog.*, pp. 88 ff. See further Todd, *R.I.A.*, Ir. MSS Ser., I, 1, pp. 17 f.; *Folk Lore*, IV, 481; *R.C.*, XVI, pp. 45 f.; Keating, *Hist. of Ir. (Ir. Texts Soc.)*, II (1908), 155 ff.; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XVI, 49; MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, pp. 71 f.; Sir Samuel Ferguson, *Lays of The Western Gael*, London, 1865, pp. 233 f. (cf. his "Tain-Quest," *op. cit.*, p. 23).

One day, when he was alone in his house, there entered a stately (*Harl*: young) woman, who behaved as though she had been there before. She prepared excellent food,¹ and that night slept with Crunniuc. The woman was pleased with her lover. Long she remained with him, and thanks to her he prospered greatly. Her name is Macha. One day Crunniuc prepared to attend one of the great periodical festivals of the Ulstermen at Emain Macha, the capital of the kingdom. "It behooves you," said the woman to him, "not to be overweening and say an imprudent thing." (*Harl*: "You must not go . . . that you may not run into danger of speaking of us, for our union will last only as long as you do not speak of me in the assembly.") "That shall not occur," said he; and so he went. At the fair the king's horses win the race. [Then bards came to praise the king and the queen and the poets and the Druids, the household, the people and the whole assembly]. The people cry that the king's horses are the swiftest in Ireland, but Crunniuc maintains that his wife is swifter than they. At the king's command he is seized and threatened with death unless he can prove his assertion. The woman is informed of her lover's strait, and, though far gone in pregnancy, comes to his assistance. The king, brutally unmindful of her condition, forces her to run the race. She succeeds in winning, but at the end of the course she is taken with birth pangs and brings forth twins (*Emain, Emuin*).² Her dying cry causes all who hear her to suffer the weakness of a woman in childbed for four days and five nights—a form of debility which returns upon the Ulstermen periodically for nine generations. "Hence is the debility of the Ulstermen (*Noinden Ulad*), and *Emuin Macha* (Macha's twins)."³

In the *Noinden Ulad* an early Celtic version of the Offended Fée has been utilized to explain on the basis of popular etymology

¹ In an Ojibway tale referred to by Andrew Lang (*Custom and Myth*, p. 79), a beaver appears to an Indian in the form of a woman, becomes his mistress, and sets his wigwam in order. For similar cases, see MacCulloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, p. 261 and note.

² In a Welsh tale translated by Rhys (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 86 ff.), a mermaid married to a mortal gives birth to five sets of twins. On the disfavor with which twins are regarded among savage peoples, see Lubbock, *Origins of Civilization*, 1870, pp. 20 ff.; Crawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 386 f.; J. A. Tillinghast, *Publ. Amer. Economic Assn.*, 3d ser., III (1902), No. 2, p. 66. During the Middle Ages the mother of twins was generally suspected of being an adulteress. For many instances, see Koehler in Warnke, *Die Lais*, *Introd.*, pp. xci ff.

³ Attention was called to this story in connection with *Lansal* and *Graelent* by Professor Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 165 ff. See also Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, pp. 31 ff.

the place-name Emain Macha and to account for the periodical weakness, from an attack of which the Ulster warriors are represented as suffering when the Amazonian Medb and her allies descend upon them on the famous cattle-raid of Cualnge.¹ Although, to suit the immediate purposes of the story, Crunniuc's mistress has been rationalized into a mortal woman subject to death² and other mundane ills, she belongs to that company of fair immortals whose relations with the sons of men play so large a part in early Irish literature. Although, as already indicated,³ Macha is usually regarded as one of the battle-goddesses of the ancient Irish, she is associated with the fairy people and with the beautiful world beneath or beyond the waves,⁴ and in a poetical version of our story, preserved in the *Book of Lecan* and printed from O'Curry's transcript by Archbishop Reeves in his *Ancient Churches of Armagh*,⁵ she is twice called the daughter of Midir of Bri Léith, who figures as the fairy lover of the heroine in the *Tochmarc Étaíne*. Through these variants, which illustrate so admirably the confusion in the mind of the early Celts regarding the genealogy of their other-world beings, the original character of Crunniuc's mistress shines clearly. She is a fairy princess. Age cannot wither her nor custom stale her infinite variety; she bestows her affection according to her own choice; she forbids

¹ This weakness may be a reminiscence of the *couvade*, a practice common to many savage peoples. See Brown, *Ivaine, A Study*, p. 31, n. 1; Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 292; Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, I, 84; Lubbock, *Origins of Civilization*, 1870, pp. 10 ff.; Crawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 417 f.; Ploss, *Das Kind im Brauch u. Sitte*, 2d ed., II, 248 ff.; *Das Weib*, II, 398 ff.; D'Arbols, *R.C.*, VII, 225 ff. Cf. *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, 2d ser. (1895-96), pp. 140 f.; MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 224 (cf. pp. 129 f.); Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths in Ir.*, II, 42 ff. The "pangs of a woman in child-birth" form part of a curse imposed by a woman in the *Cathréim Conghail Cláiringhnigh, Ir. Texts Soc.*, V, 113.

² The disappearance of the fairy mistress or lover is not infrequently attributed to death (cf. *R.C.*, XXXI, 459), but the canny ones among the folk know better. See, for example, the folk-tale printed in the *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, 1st ser., VII (1859), 134. One of the O'Neills married a beautiful woman, who for no apparent reason pined away and died, "it was said—but," adds the narrator, "if she did, no human eyes ever saw the corp"; there was a grand funeral—the O'Neill's always had that—but the lady wasn't in it: her own Gentle People [the fairies] took her to themselves, and had her in their own dominions before that, as every one in the castle knew well enough at the time." See also Kittredge, *J. of Am. Folk-Lore*, XVIII (1905), 12, n. 1.

³ Above, p. 21.

⁴ In the *LL* version she is called "Daughter of Strangeness son of Ocean." Cf. Brown, *Ivaine, A Study*, p. 32. See above, pp. 22, 25, n. 4.

⁵ Privately printed, Lusk, 1860, pp. 41 ff. Cf. Keating, *Hist. of Ireland*, ed. cit., I (1902), 219; *Folk-Lore*, IV, 481; *R.C.*, XVI, 45.

her mortal favorite to speak of her before the world; and when he breaks her command, she forsakes him. Young, beautiful, immortal, she is beyond the realm of moral and physical law.

In both prose versions of the *Noinden Ulad Macha's* injunction takes the form of a prohibition against mentioning her name. The *Harleian* account is more specific: "'You must not go,' said the woman, 'that you may not run into danger of speaking of us, for our union will last only as long as you do not speak of me in the assembly'" ('*Ni rega, ol in ben, nachat rab boegal dier n-imradadh, ar bid hi ar n-oenta co sin dianom nimraidiu-sa issan oenach*').

In the obviously corrupt version of the *Léiges Coise Chéin* summarized above from a fifteenth-century manuscript, the *fée* forsakes her lover simply because she has been insulted by another man! Her departure, here so unsatisfactorily explained, is accounted for in a highly gratifying fashion in two modern Scottish Gaelic versions of the story, collected from oral tradition by the Rev. D. MacInnes¹ and J. G. Campbell.² In MacInnes's version the fairy woman agrees to become the hero's wife on three conditions: the king must never be invited to dinner without her previous knowledge; her husband must never reproach her with her origin; she must never be left in the company of another man. The tabus are, of course, broken one after another, the departure of the lady being occasioned, as in the Irish account, by an insult from Cian. Instead of the triple tabu there was doubtless originally but one prohibition, that against reproaching the wife with her origin—mentioning the name which she bore in the Other World. Like the serpent-lady in Keats's poem, she should remain unaffected by the insults of others; it is only her lover who, by uttering the fatal word, can force her to desert him.

In the *Aided Muirchertaig* the *ges*, though somewhat modified by Christian influence, is nevertheless perfectly clear. *Sín* tells her lover: "My name must never be uttered by thee, and *Duaibsech*, the mother of thy children, must not be in my sight, and the clerics must never enter the house that I am in" (*cen m'ainm-sea do ráda*

¹ Recorded in *Folk and Hero Tales* (Argyllshire Ser., II), ed. MacInnes & Nutt, London, 1890, pp. 207 ff.

² *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, pp. 127 ff.

*duitsiu co brath, 7 cen Duabsig máthair do claindi do beith im aigid,
7 cen na clerig do thoidecht i n-oentach rium co brath).*

A prohibition against mentioning the fée's name is also implied in the *Egerton* version of the *Tochmarc Becfola* (see above, p. 23): the king, when asked whence his mistress came, refuses to tell. So, too, in the *Mabinogi* of *Pwyll* (see above, p. 15), the prince, when questioned regarding the lady on the white horse, preserves a discreet silence.¹ "Whatever question was asked him concerning the maiden, he passed to other matters" (*Pa amouyn bynnac a vei ganthunt wy y wrth y uorwyn y chwedleu ereill y trosseu ynteu*).²

When we recall that the examples enumerated above are but a few preserved by accident from a mass of folk-tradition now lost in the backward and abysm of time, we may get some faint idea of how popular among the early Celts was the tale of a fairy woman who visits earth, and unites with a mortal lover upon whom she lays strange commands.

The similarity of our Breton Lays to the Celtic stories in the matter of the prohibition need hardly be dwelt upon. In *Lanval* the fée tells her lover:

"Amis . . . or vus chasti,
si vus comant e si vus pri:
ne vus descovrez a nul hume!
De ceo vus dirai jeo la sume.
A tuz jurs m'avriéz perdue,
se ceste amurs esteit setie" [vss. 143 ff.]

The heroine of the English poem words her command somewhat differently:

. . . of othyng, syr knyght, i warne the,
That thou make no bost of me,
For no kennes mede;
And yf thou dost, y warny the before,
All my love thou hast forlore [vss. 361 ff.].

¹ In a Welsh tale translated by Rhys (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 84), a shepherd boy who has won the love of a fée evades all inquiries concerning his mistress's pedigree.

² In the *Aislinge Oengusso* (see above, p. 14), the presence of a *ges* in an earliest form of the story may be easily inferred from other versions of the type we are investigating. An astonishingly close parallel is furnished by the ancient Indian story of Purúravas and Urvaçī. Here the goddess can remain with her lover only until she sees him naked. When he finds her again, she appears in the form of a swan at a lake. The tabu is omitted in the Vedic hymn dealing with the fortunes of the two chief characters, but it is preserved in the *Çatapathabrahmana* and other documents of undoubted

Graelent's mistress addresses her lover as follows:

" . . . une chose vus deffent,
Que ne dirés parole aperte
Dunt nostre amurs seit descuverte
.
.
.
Gardés que pas ne vus vantés
De chose par qoi me perdés" [vss. 302 ff.; vss. 319 ff.].

Though some form of tabu is almost universally characteristic of stories in which supernatural beings enter into relations with mortals, the presence of the name-tabu in early Celtic literature, and in Breton Lays showing other evidences of Celtic influence, forges another link in our chain of evidence designed to establish the Celtic origin of *Lanval* and *Graelent*. It is important to note also that the popularity of fairy-mistress stories involving the name-tabu was doubtless greatly enhanced during the Middle Ages by their obvious suitability for enforcing one of the most important doctrines of Courtly Love: *Amor raro consuevit durare vulgatus*.¹

THE FAIRY GIFTS

Lanval's mistress, though capricious, is munificent. After being assured of the hero's love, she grants him the power to have whatever he desires. She gives him new garments, and when he reaches home, "ses umes treuve bien vestuz" (vs. 202). As the result of her bounty, Lanval is enabled to give and spend lavishly. The English *Sir Launfal* contains a more detailed account, which, though perhaps in part due to Chrestre's imagination, may prove to contain one or two traditional features. The fée, before dismissing her lover, gives him a suit of impenetrable armor, and an "alner" wherein he will always find "a mark of gold." Next day she sends him "ryche clothes and armure bryght" (vs. 383), as well as gold, silver, and a horse named Blaunchard. In *Graelent* the lady promises her *ami* "Deniers e dras, or e argent" (vs. 306), and after his return home she sends him, along with the clothing and other gifts, the swiftest and most beautiful horse in the world.

antiquity. See Leopold von Schroeder, *Mysterium u. Mimus im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 239. I am indebted to Dr. W. E. Clark for calling my attention to this story.

¹ Article XIII of the Code as arranged by Andreas Capellanus (Andreas Capellani, *De Amore*, Recens. E. Trojel, Havniae, 1892, p. 310). Cf. L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, Ginn & Co., 1896, p. 59.

In the *Noinden Ulad* Crunniuc's mistress, like the fairy *amies* of Lanval and Graelent, at first brings her lover nothing but good luck. The *Leinster* version tells us that Crunniuc prospered greatly because of his connection with Macha: "thanks to her they had no lack of anything profitable, either food, clothing, or possessions" (*ní búí ní ba tere dóib lee-si di cach thorud eter biad 7 etach 7 indbass*). The *Harleian* account contains the statement that "by his union with her his wealth became still greater" (*Moiti dana a indbus-som dia hoentaid-sie*).

It will also be recalled that in the unquestionably pre-twelfth-century account of Cuchulainn's meeting with the Morrígu, the beautiful other-world woman offers her mortal favorite "all her cattle and possessions" as an inducement to accept her love.

The happy results of union with a *fée* are well illustrated in the story of O'Cronogan. The hero, on returning home with his fairy mistress, finds "great houses and halls" in place of the ashes of his dwelling, recently destroyed by the insatiable tax-collectors of Brian Boru. A later statement is more specific. "To three years' end that woman dwelt with him, and O'Cronogan prospered again [i.e., after Brian's distraint on him], so that he had a great troop of horse-men and many people" (*ocus do bí in ben sin aige co cenn trí mbliadan. ocus do bí O Cronógáin ag techt ar a agaid arts innus co roibe se marcshluag mór ocus dáine imda*).¹

Another story of gifts bestowed by a fairy woman upon her mortal lover is told in the *Annals of the Four Masters*² in the *Flathiusa h-Erenn*,³ and in the prose *Dindshenchas*,⁴ which latter Kuno Meyer regards as "eine im 12. Jahrhundert verfasste Prosa-Auflösung der in den Schulen des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Lehrgedichte über irische Topographie."⁵ According to the version in the *Dindshenchas*, Crimthann, son of Lugaid, was the husband of Nar the fairy woman,⁶ with whom he lived for six weeks.

¹ The modern oral versions are careful to make clear that the *fée* bestows upon her lover a magnificent palace and great possessions: *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 215 ff.; *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands*, pp. 127 ff.

² Ed. O'Donovan, I, 93.

³ Cited by Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, p. 318.

⁴ *R.C.*, XV, 332 ff.

⁵ *Festschrift* presented to Whitley Stokes, Leipzig, 1900, p. 1, n. 1.

⁶ According to *LU* she was of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* (ar ba do Thuath Déa ben. i. Nár), *R.C.*, XV, 333, note. Her fairy character is also vouched for in both versions of the *Cóir Anmann* (*Ir.T.*, III, 2, p. 286).

"And to him she gave many treasures, including the gilt chariot and the draught-board of gold, and Crimthann's *cétach*, a beautiful mantle, and many other treasures also." The *Flathiusa h-Erenn*, which is contained in the *Book of Leinster* and the *Book of Lecan*, includes among the gifts "a spear that caused mortal wounds" and "a sling of unfailing cast."

An interesting example of fairy gifts turns up in the *Táin Bó Dartada*,¹ which in substance probably long antedates the twelfth century.² One night King Eocho Beg is visited in his sleep by a maiden and a young man. The former tells him that his visitors are from the fairy mound of Cuillne (*síd Cuillni*), and adds that on the morrow he shall have fifty horses, fifty bridles ornamented with gold and silver, and fifty suits of fairy garments.³ The gifts arrive next morning, as is also the case in *Launfal*.

The lays and Celtic stories enumerated above illustrate a belief which, like others brought out in the course of this study, is found pretty much all over the world: the favor of fairy beings brings good fortune. The nature of the gifts conferred by the *fée* upon her lover varies to suit the social *milieux* in which the stories took shape, but the Celtic and Romance accounts have this in common: each in the spirit of its own time has made the other-world woman bestow upon the mortal the things most to be desired by warriors in the barbaric and chivalric ages respectively—rich garments, a valuable chess-board, a gilt chariot, impenetrable armor,⁴ and magic horses.

¹ Trans. Windisch, *Ir. T.*, II, 2, pp. 198 ff.; cf. *Bibliog.*, p. 96. See also *R.C.*, XV, 495 f.

² It is given as one of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, and occurs in fragmentary form in *LU*. Cf. O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 185; D'Arbols, *Catalogue*, p. 216.

³ In the Edinburgh version of the very ancient *Táin Bó Fraich* (MS XL, Adv. Lib.), the hero, who is about to go a-wooing, receives from his aunt (a *fée*) a wonderful outfit of clothes, armor, horses, and attendants (*R.C.*, XXIV, 128 f.). For other examples of fairy gifts in Celtic, see *Ériu*, I, 190, n. 3; *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, 1st ser., VII (1859), 131.

⁴ This feature occurs only in *Launfal*, and is not improbably the result of Chestre's own elaboration of the original theme. It is, however, worth while to note that magic swords and other arms, so common in Germanic tradition, are found in Celtic. See, for example, *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, III, 91; *Ir. T.*, III, 1, p. 209; III, 2, p. 337; Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 44 f.; *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., p. lix, p. 438, n. 1; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XIV, 27; XVI, 49; *Gaelic Jour.*, IX (1898-99), 268; *Battle of Magh Rath*, ed. O'Donovan (*Ir. Arch. Soc.*), Dublin, 1842, p. 279; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.*, I, clxxxv; Mac-Manus, *Donegal Fairy Tales*, p. 163; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands*, p. 5; *S.G.*, II, 121, 254; *Ir. T.*, IV, 1, p. 256; *Ériu*, I, 190, n. 3. See further Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, xcvi ff., cxlix; Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 199, n. 1; Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 42, n. 1; Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 48 ff. Miss Schoepferle (*op. cit.*, II, 316) treats inhospitably the suggestion that Tristan's *arc qui ne faut* is Celtic.

In *Launfal* and in *Graelent* the minor gifts are described so briefly as to render doubtful the value of a detailed account of the Celtic parallels, but the horses appear worthy of a more careful examination.¹ In Marie's version the hero finally goes off to the Other World on the fée's white horse.² The ending of Chestre's poem is somewhat different. Launfal rides away in company with the lady on the horse formerly given him by her. On a certain day each year horse and rider may still be seen.

Every yer upon a certayn day
Me may here Launfales stede nay,
And hym se with syght.
Ho that wyll there axsy justus,
To kepe hys armes fro the rustus,
In turnement other fyght;
Dar he never forther gon,
Ther he may fynde justes anon,
Wyth syr Launfal the knyght [vss. 1025 ff.].

When at the end of *Graelent* the fée leaves the court, the hero mounts the wonderful steed given him by her, and follows. In spite of her warning, he rides after her into a stream, in which he is nearly drowned. He is, however, saved by the lady, and is carried off to her country. How he made the journey is not told.

Ses destriers qui d'eve eschapa,
Pur sun Segnur grant dol mena:
En la forest fist sun retur,
Ne fu en pais ne nuit ne jur;
Des piés grata; forment heni,
Par la cuntrée fu oï.
Prendre cuident e retenir,
Unques nus d'aus nel pot saisir:
Il ne voleit nului atendre,
Nus ne le puet lacier ne prendre [vss. 711 ff.].

At this season of the year he may still be heard.

¹ In *Lo bel Gherardino* and the *Pulsella gais* also the heroes receive horses from their fairy mistresses. Cf. Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 276 f. For Celtic horses with magic qualities, see Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 38, 77; *S.G.*, II, 199; cf. *Folk Lore*, IV, 474; Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, new ed., 1890, III, 24; Henderson, *Survivals in Belief*, p. 118. See further *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 37; Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 157 ff.; Reiffenberg, *Chev. au Cygne*, I, cxv; Child, *Ballads*, No. 30, st. 27.

² Fairy beings often ride white horses. Cf. Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 93, n. 5; *Pwyll Prince of Dyfed* (Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, p. 93); Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 30. Gervais of Tilbury, *Ot. Imp.*, p. 122.

Even if, as Professor Schofield points out,¹ Chestre borrowed certain features of his poem from *Graelent*, the variations in the two episodes given above indicate that in the present instance the English poet not only discarded part of the French account but even introduced material from another source. It therefore seems probable even at first blush that in the final episodes of *Launfal* and *Graelent* we have partially independent scraps of popular tradition about supernatural horses: one steed carries its rider to the Other World; the other, also associated with fairyland, mourns in human fashion for the loss of its master.

Fairy horses which transport mortals to fairyland are common enough in Celtic romance. In the *Laoidh Oisín ar Thír na n-Óg*,² an eighteenth-century literary version of a traditional tale, a fairy princess visits Oisín, declares her love for him, and carries him off to the Other World on her white horse. The *Acallamh na Senórach*³ tells how Ciaban and his companions journey part of the way to the Other World on the back of Manannan's famous steed, which is also used by travelers in the *Aidead Chlainne Tuirend*.⁴ This beast goes equally well on land or sea, and is "as swift as the clear, cold wind of spring." In the *Aidead Ferghusa*,⁵ contained in a fifteenth-century manuscript,⁶ a dwarf attached to the court of King Fergus of Ulster visits the land of the *Lepracans* in company with one of the "little people" on a diminutive horse which has "an exquisite pure crimson mane, four green legs, and a long tail that floated in many curls."⁷

Graelent's horse recalls one of Cuchulainn's steeds, the Gray (Liath) of Macha, to which attention has already been drawn.⁸

¹ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 155 ff.

² *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, IV, 245.

³ *S.G.*, II, 199.

⁴ Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 38.

⁵ *S.G.*, II, 275.

⁶ Egerton 1788, written between 1419 and 1517.

⁷ In the *Gilla Decair* (*S.G.*, II, 296 ff.), which, though found in no ancient manuscript, appears to contain much early material (cf. Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 103, n. 2), Conan and other Fenians are carried to the Other World on the horse of the Slothful Gillie (a supernatural being). Sir Walter Scott, in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (ed. T. F. Henderson, Edinburgh, London, and New York, 1902, pp. 359 ff.), tells how Sir Godfrey Macculloch, when condemned to death, escaped by jumping on the white horse of an other-world being who appeared just as the execution was about to take place. He was never seen afterward. See further *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 89; Larmine, *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances*, pp. 211 ff.; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, cxxxii, n. 7; p. 69, note. Cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 93, n. 5.

⁸ See above, p. 22.

The supernatural character of this animal is established by the fact that it dwelt at the bottom of a lake, and the name (Gray of Macha), renders plausible the suggestion that it was originally a gift from Macha, who appears with such marked fairy characteristics in the *Noinden Ulad*, and who is identified with the Morrígu, Cuchulainn's would-be mistress in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*. When Cuchulainn prepares for his last battle,¹ the Gray of Macha "came, and let his big round tears of blood fall on Cuchulainn's feet,"² and tried to prevent his master from going forth. When wounded in the battle, the horse goes back to his home in the lake, but just before Cuchulainn is overpowered, he reappears, and with teeth and heels defends his master as long as the latter is alive.³ Another striking parallel to the behavior of Graelett's horse is furnished by one of those scraps of popular tradition so often found imbedded in Irish Christian literature. The story is told by Adamnan⁴ concerning St. Columba and an old white pack-horse belonging to the great apostle's monastery. Just before Columba's death the animal approached the saint and gave evidence of profound emotion at the prospect of his demise.⁵ "Coepit plangere, ubertimque, quasi homo, lacrymas in gremium Sancti fundere, et valde spumans flere." A passage in the prose *Dindshenchas* from the *Book of Lecan* tells how the cattle of Iuchna Horsemouth, after their master's death were "for three days and three nights killing each other, bewailing Iuchna, so that their horns fell off them."⁶ Another passage in the Rennes manuscript of the same document tells how certain cattle shed their horns in sorrow for their herd, who was smothered in a quicksand.⁷

Professor Schofield notes the similarity in the behavior of the horses in the *Aided Conchulainn*, the *Vita Columbae*, and *Graelett*;

¹ The episode occurs in the *Aided Conchulainn*, Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 254 (cf. p. 244). See also *R.C.*, III, 176 ff.; *Bibliog.*, p. 86; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.*, I, cxxxii, n. 8.

² On weeping tears of blood, see *R.C.*, XXI, p. 393; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., IV, p. 2.

³ Compare the fighting horses of Gwyn, *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, ed. J. G. Evans, Pwllhell, 1906, Introd., p. xi, p. 99, 5-6.

⁴ *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*, ed. J. T. Fowler, Clarendon Press, 1894, p. 156; trans., *Prophecies, Miracles and Visions of St. Columba*, Clarendon Press, p. 133. Cf. Reeves, *Life of St. Columba* (Ir. Arch. and Celtic Soc.), Dublin, 1857, p. 232; *Historians of Scotland*, VI (1874), 96, 212.

⁵ Professor Schofield is wrong in making the horse weep for St. Adamnan: *Pub., Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 159.

⁶ *R.C.*, XV, 309, note; cf. *S.G.*, II, 483, 531.

⁷ *R.C.*, XVI, 75.

but he also calls attention to the sorrowing of Sigurth's horse, Grani, in the so-called "Second" *Lay of Guthrún* in the Elder Edda, paraphrased in the *Völsungasaga*, and suggests the possibility that the feature "got to the Bretons, like the story of Wayland, through the Normans."¹ Thankful, helpful, or sympathetic animals are common enough in folk-lore,² but in the case before us the presence of the mourning horse both in Celtic and in a Breton lay exhibiting so many other points of resemblance to Celtic tradition seems to indicate the latter rather than Germanic as the source. Added weight is given to this conclusion by the fact that in the *Aided Conchulainn* the feature is connected with the Ulster hero and with Macha, the associate of the Morrígu, whose relations with Cuchulainn furnish other parallels to our lay. However, even if it could be proved that the sorrowing of Graeent's horse found its way into the French poem from a Germanic rather than a Celtic source, the conclusions to be deduced from the present study would not be materially affected, since the feature of greatest significance for the thread of the narrative is not the lachrymose character of the animal, but the fact that he is of fairy origin and that he transports his master to the border of the Other World. It is highly probable that in a simpler form of the story Graeent's horse, like Launfal's, simply carried his master to fairyland, perhaps returning at regular intervals, as did the famous Irish *Each Labhra* (Speaking Horse).³ The episode of the return of horse and rider in *Launfal* resembles a tradition current in the vicinity of Cambridge and recorded by Gervais of Tilbury.⁴

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² On helpful animals, see Brown, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX, 679, n. 1; p. 703, nn. 1, 2, 3; p. 704, n. 4; Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 226, n. 3; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.*, I, cxliii f.; Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, Longmans, I (1906), 58 f.; Salomon Reinach, *Cults, Myths and Relig.* (trans. E. Frost), pp. 19 f.

³ This animal was wont to issue from a mound on every midsummer eve, and answer questions regarding the events of the coming year. See Patrick Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Ir. Celts*, p. 135, note; cf. MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 215. In the *Lai de l'Espine* (Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, p. 554, vss. 192 ff.), there is an account of the "gué de l'Espine," where each year on St. John's Eve one can find a notable adventure. It is here that the hero of the story fights with two knights and wins a lady. In the Welsh *Peredur*, the hero, at the instance of a maiden, climbs a hill and "asks three times for someone to fight with him," whereupon a black knight on a bony horse appears from beneath a flat stone (cromlech?) and attacks him. Cf. Loth (*Les Mab.*, II, 117 f.), who compares Wauchier's continuation of *Perceval* (ed. Potvin, IV, 85).

⁴ *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, p. 26; the same story is told by the author of the *Gesta Romanorum*, who cites Gervais as his authority. See *Gesta Rom.*, ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, pp. 533 ff. Cf. Herrtage's ed. of the English versions, E.E.T.S., E.S., XXXIII, 1879, p. 525.

Not far from Cambridge is a hill on whose summit a supernatural warrior on horseback meets all who challenge him on moonlight nights.

THE LOSS OF THE FAIRY MISTRESS

Though the fée's command and its subsequent disregard by her lover are constantly recurring features of the folk-tale of the Offended Fée, the events which furnish the motive for the catastrophe may be freely altered without disturbing the general development of the story. We should not, therefore, be surprised to find wide variations in this part of the narrative.

In the Lanval poems the fatal revelation of the fée's existence is motivated by a device long familiar in popular literature. Queen Guenevere offers Lanval her favors. He refuses to dishonor the king by accepting her love, and in a thoughtless moment boasts of his *amie's* beauty just as Crunniuc does of his wife's speed. The jealous queen now accuses Lanval of having insulted her.¹ At her instigation the knight is condemned to produce his mistress by a certain day or suffer punishment. He finds to his utter dismay that the lady of the tent no longer appears at his summons, but just at the expiration of the allotted time she returns, proves her lover's claim, and departs with him to the Other World.

Attention has already been called to the frequency with which the women of early Celtic literature offer themselves to men. Though the forth-putting woman was of course known outside of Celtic and though her popularity in literature was probably increased by the well-known Bible story of Potiphar's wife, it is important to insist that the attitude of women toward men reflected in early Celtic sagas and romantic tales strongly predisposes us to expect her to reappear in mediaeval documents the origin of which other considerations lead us to look for in Celtic.

Queen Guenevere,² notorious for her adultery and described by Chestre as having "lemannys unther her lord" (vs. 47), immediately

¹ The same motif furnishes the cause for the lover's unfortunate words in the *Châtelaine de Vergi*, in *Gauriel von Muntabel*, and indirectly in the *Pulsella gaia* (cf. Ahlström, *Studier*, p. 69, n. 5). See also Walter Map's story of Sadus and Galo (*De Nugis Curialium*, III, ii, ed. cit. pp. 108 ff.); Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 147, n. 1.

² The connection of Guenevere with the episode is probably late, but it was her already notorious character which made possible the connection. Cf. Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 162, n. 1.

suggests the famous Queen Medb of Connacht. The latter tells her hen-pecked husband, Ailill, that she "has never . . . been without having one man in the shadow of another";¹ she openly offers her favors (*cardes mo shasta fessin*) to Dáire mac Fachtnai in exchange for the brown bull of Cualnge;² and during the lifetime of her husband she entertains as her lover the exiled Ulsterman Fergus mac Roig and has children by him.³

Two of the most striking Celtic instances of the forth-putting woman occur in the *Longes Mac n-Usnig* (Exile of the Sons of Usnech)⁴ and the *Tóruigheacht Dharmada agus Ghráinne* (Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne).⁵ The former is found in the *Book of Leinster* and certainly dates from a period long before the twelfth century. The latter appears to have been traditional as early as the ninth century.⁶ In both, the heroines make violent love to men who at first resist their advances, and who are forced to accept their favors only by the imposition of a *ges*, or tabu. The following summary of another ancient tale is contained in *Cormac's Glossary*, which was

¹ See Zimmer's interesting observations on this passage (*Sitzungsb. der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wiss'n.*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., 1909, p. 64). Cf. *op. cit.*, vol. for 1911, p. 178.

² *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., p. 14; *Cattle Raid of Cualnge*, trans. Miss Faraday, p. 101. In the Glenmasan MS of the *Táin Bó Flidais* Medb makes the same offer to others (*Celtic Review*, III [1906-7], 125). Cf. *Fled Bricrend*, *Ir. T. Soc.*, II, p. 69; Keating, *Hist. of Ireland* (*Ir. Texts Soc.*), II (1908), 189.

³ *Celtic Review*, I (1904-5), 227 ff.; *Ir. T.*, II, 2, p. 176; *Cattle Raid of Cualnge*, trans. Miss Faraday, pp. 44, 52. Cf. *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., pp. 414, 860; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XIV, 33; *R.C.*, XXVIII, 101; Zimmer, *Sitzungsb. der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wiss'n.*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., 1911, p. 184; Keating, *op. cit.*, II, 195. Flidais, the wife of a chieftain named Ailill Finn, loves Fergus mac Roig, and urges him to elope with her (*Celtic Review*, II [1905-6], p. 23; cf. *Bibliog.*, p. 96); Blathnat, the wife of Curól mac Dáiri, conspires against the life of her husband and elopes with Cuchulainn (*Ériu*, II [1905], 23; Keating, *History of Ir.*, (*Ir. Texts Soc.*), II, 223; cf. *Bibliog.*, p. 87; Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 284, n. 1); and Clothru offers herself to her three brothers, and by them becomes the mother of Lugaid Riab n-Derg (*R.C.*, XVI, 149; cf. O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 479). See also *Compert Conchobuir*, (*Hibernica Minora*, ed., Kuno Meyer (Anc. Oxon.), 1894, Ap., p. 50).

In the *Duanaire Phinn*, (ed. MacNeill [*Ir. Texts Soc.*], p. 30), Donn is changed into a stag by a woman who failed to seduce him. For an instance in Christian legend, see *R.C.*, XXXI, 304. For a collection of passages illustrating the irregularity of the early Irish in sexual matters, see Zimmer, *Haupt's Zt.*, XXXIII, 281, n. 1. On the forth-putting woman in early Celtic, see further *Ir. T.*, III, 2, p. 311; *Arch. Rev.*, I, 234; *R.C.*, XXV, 347; XXVIII, 101; Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zt.*, XXVIII, 451. Professor Schofield calls attention to the similarity between the Potiphar's wife episode in our lays and the Morrighu-Cuchulainn scene in the *Táin Bó Cualnge* (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 147, n. 1).

⁴ *Ed. Ir. T.*, I, 73; cf. *Bibliog.*, pp. 92f. The so-called translation in Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances* (Longmans, 1907, pp. 427 ff.) omits part of the episode in point.

⁵ *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, III (1855), 40 ff.; cf. *Bibliog.*, pp. 103 f.

⁶ The evidence as to the date has been collected by Miss Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, II, 398 f.

written not later than the tenth century. Caier, king of Connacht, adopted as his son his nephew Nede. "The mind of Caier's wife clave to Nede. She gave an apple of silver to Nede for his love. Nede consented not, and she promised him the realm of Caier, if he would go in to her."¹

The woman whose love is slighted for dear honor's sake, and who out of jealousy falsely accuses him whom she has tempted, turns up in the *Fingal Ronain*,² which in its main lines suggests the Greek account of Phaedra's love for Hippolytus. The story must have been known before the twelfth century, for it is contained in the *Book of Leinster* and is mentioned in the same manuscript along with other stories well known about the year 1150.³ The *Fingal Ronain* may be briefly summarized as follows:

Ronan son of Aed, king of Leinster, marries Ethne, who dies, leaving one son Mael-Forthartaig. In spite of the son's protest, the king marries a young wife. The latter falls in love with Mael-Forthartaig, and offers herself to him, but the prince refuses on the ground that she is his father's wife. The queen now complains to her husband that Mael-Forthartaig has made improper proposals to her. Ronan thereupon slays his son. In revenge Dond, one of the young prince's foster-brothers, murders the woman's father along with the latter's wife and son. He then throws the father's head upon the bosom of the young queen, who, to cap the climax of these "carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts," commits suicide.⁴

Whether the story of the *Fingal Ronain* was invented by the Celts or was borrowed by them from classical tradition or from any other source, is of no especial importance here. It is sufficient that the tale as we have it existed in Celtic and that by the middle of the twelfth century it was popular enough to be included in a list of Irish stories with which every professional antiquarian was required to be familiar. In view of the large amount of variation possible in the part of our story under examination, it is of course especially

¹ *Three Irish Glossaries*, pp. xxxvi f.

² *R.C.*, XIII, 372 ff.

³ The events are traditionally assigned to the seventh century after Christ (*R.C.*, XIII, 368 f.; O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 277); but the historicity of the tale is not established.

⁴ Keating records the case of Corc mac Luighdheach, who refuses the love of his stepmother, and who, on the woman's complaining to his father, is banished (*Hist. of Ir. [Ir. Texts Soc.]*, II [1908], 383 f.).

difficult to dogmatize as to its ultimate origin, but the material presented above at least renders it impossible to deny that the forth-putting woman found her way into the Lanval story from Celtic tradition.¹

In *Graelent* an entirely different motive is used to explain the lover's ill-considered boast regarding his fairy mistress. Once a year, so runs the story, the king held a great assembly at court. After meat he had the queen placed on a bench:

La Reïne faiseit munter
Sor un haut banc e defubler [vss. 417 f.].

It was then the business of the courtiers to praise her beauty. Graelent, who is present at this ceremony, fails to contribute his quota of admiration.

A tox le convenit loer,
E au Roi dire et afremer
K'il ne sevent nule si bele,
Mescine, Dame ne Pucele.
N'i ot un seul ne le prisast,
E sa biauté ne li loast,
Fors Graelent qui s'en taiseit
Des autres teneit à folie
Ki de tutes parts s'escrieient
E la Reïne si loeient [vss. 423 ff.].

The knight, on being questioned by the king as to the cause of his silence, declares that he knows a woman more beautiful than the queen. Like Lanval and Crunniuc, he is seized at once and threatened with severe punishment unless he can produce the fair one of whom he boasts.

¹ Professor Schofield believes that the author of *Graelent* knew at least two versions of the story of the Offended Fée: one containing the Potiphar's wife episode, the other the bench scene as the motive for the lover's boast; "for, although he does not use [the former] in the place where it was originally inserted, he did not leave it out altogether, but unwisely transferred it to the beginning of his lay, where . . . It did nought but cause confusion and inconsistency" (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 170). Though the explanation seems plausible, attention should be called to the fact that in the lay of *Guingamor*, which also contains the Offended Fée, the Potiphar's wife episode comes at the beginning of the story, as it does also in Walter Map's tale of Sadius and Galo (*De Nug. Cur.*, III, 2). In Map's account the knight, angry at the slighted queen's asking him why he is so thoughtful, boasts of loving a lady whom he has never seen and whose affection he does not win until long afterward. Whether or not the Potiphar's wife episode stood near the beginning of the story on which the author of *Graelent* based his poem, his source was certainly markedly different from that used by Marie, for

The scene here depicted is obviously not in its proper social setting. Professor Schofield has noted its similarity to the barbaric episode of the horse-race in the *Noinden Ulad*,¹ where, as we are told, "bards appeared to praise the king and the queen" and the whole crowd joined in declaring that the king's victorious steeds were the swiftest in Ireland.² There are, however, other features in the French account which suggest even more strongly that we have here a reminiscence of a primitive custom imperfectly fitted into a twelfth-century chivalric setting. It is true that the dropping of the mantle as a sign of respect was common both among men and women in mediaeval courtly circles,³ but it is also true that no twelfth-century king would be likely to display his wife in a conspicuous place and force his courtiers to admire her in extravagant language unless he were "merry with wine" as was King Ahasuerus when he tried to force Queen Vashti to come forth "with the crown royal, to show the people and the princes her beauty."⁴ On the other hand, the unabashed exhibition of the human figure with the avowed purpose of eliciting admiration appears to have been a common practice among the early Celts as among other peoples relatively low down the ladder of culture.

An early example is found in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, where it is said that Cuchulainn went forth "to show his beautiful, pleasing figure" (*do thasbénad a chrotha álgin alaind*) to the women and maidens attached to the army of Connacht. For this purpose he decorates his person with the most bizarre and barbaric magnificence. "Then the maidens begged the men of Ireland to raise them upon the surfaces of shields above the shoulders of the men, to view Cuchulainn's figure" (*do thaidbriud chrotha Conculaind*).⁵ Another case, found in

the fairy hunt, the fountain, the swan-maiden elements in the fée's character, the bench episode, and the behavior of the lover's horse, are all wanting in Marie's poem. The inconsistency in *Graslen* is apparently reflected in *Launfal* (see Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 162).

¹ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 169. The assembly and horse-race in the *Noinden Ulad* may also be compared with the tournaments which furnish the setting for the lovers' unfortunate boasts in *Liopbruno* and the *Puella gaia*.

² On the fondness of the early Celts for panegyrics, see Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1890, pp. 810 f.; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.*, I, ciii, nn. 3, 4. Cf. *Ir. T.*, I, 319 f.

³ Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 1900, p. 405, n. 5.

⁴ Esther 1:11.

⁵ *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., pp. 386 ff.; Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, pp. 177 ff., cf. p. 200.

the Rennes manuscript of the prose *Dindshenchas*, is connected with the death of the famous King Niall of the Nine Hostages. While the king was on an expedition in France, one Eochaid "advised the women [of France] to ask that [Niall's] form might be shown to them. Wherefore, after undressing, Niall displayed himself to them" (*taiselb iarna diétgudh doib*). While thus engaged, he was slain by Eochaid.¹ The Irish redactor of the "Destruction of Troy" (*Togail Troi*) contributes on his own account the information that Alexander came before Helen "to show his form and habit, his garment and vesture" (*Tanic dano Alaxander i fiadnaisi na hingine do thaiselbadh a crotha 7 a écosca, a eirraid 7 étaig*).² In the story of Ailenn the Multiform and the king of Connacht (see above, p. 13), the *fée*, after her conversation with the king and before returning to fairyland, displays herself to the people just as the lady does in *Lanval*, where we are expressly told that on her visit to the court to prove her lover's boast, she let fall her mantle before the assembled court, "que mielz la peüssent veoir" (vs. 622).³

The Irish parallels enumerated above reflect an extremely early state of society,⁴ and the presence of the bench scene in *Graelent*, an

¹ *R.C.*, XV, 295 f. According to a variant account given in the *Orcuin Neill Noigiallaig*, the king was slain "among the bards of the Pict-folk as he was exhibiting his shape to them" (*Olta Mersiana*, II, Liverpool, 1900, pp. 84 ff.). Cf. *Bibliog.*, p. 110.

² *Ir.T.*, II, 1 (1884), pp. 17 f., 81.

³ The exposure of the person for the purpose of inspiring other emotions is also referred to in Celtic literature. When the youthful Cuchulainn returns in a berserk rage from his first manly exploit, a hundred and fifty "bold, stark-naked women" are sent to meet him "to show him all their nakedness and their shame." On seeing them the boy hides his face, whereupon he is seized and plunged into vats of water until his violence has passed (*Ir.T.*, Extrab'd., p. 166). Compare the pagan Irish women who expose themselves naked to drive away Christian monks in the *Vita Sancti David*, ed. Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853, p. 125; cf. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* I, clxvi. In the *Chase of Síd na mBan Finn* (*R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XVI, 71), "fierce, stark-naked men" are sent against the stronghold of Finn and his band. For possible Gaulish instances, see Caesar *B.G.*, VII, 4; cf. *Ir.T.*, Extrab'd., p. 166, n. 2; D'Arbois, *La Civilis'n. des Celtes* (*Cours de litt. cell.* VI), Paris, 1899, p. 321. See also the naked wild Irishman in George Borrow's *Wild Wales*, chap. xiv. See further Herodotus, *History*, I, 8; John Gillies, *Hist. of Anc. Greece*, I, Dublin, 1786, p. 124, n. 96; Stokes, *R.C.*, XVI, 308, note. Cf. *Roman de Thèbes*, vss. 939 ff., quoted by Professor Nitze (*Mod. Philol.*, XI, 452, n. 1), who personally suggests that the Sparrow-hawk Adventure in *Erec et Enide* may contain a reminiscence of a custom like that preserved in the bench episode in *Graelent*. For various versions of the Sparrow-hawk Adventure, see *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 450, n. 1.

⁴ Leaving aside the perplexed question of the ultimate origin of the sentiment of modesty, we should recall that among savage peoples the feeling about nudity and clothing is *toto coelo* different from ours. Cf. S. Reinach, *Myths, Cults and Religions* (trans. E. Frost), pp. 177 f.

Old French poem portraying a social system in which such a ceremony is so obviously out of place, can hardly be explained except on the assumption that the author was imperfectly adapting to twelfth-century conditions an ancient Celtic story.

THE RETURN OF THE FAIRY MISTRESS

Lanval and Graelen, after the loss of their *amies*, experience the most excruciating mental suffering.¹ Their troubles are, however, only temporary; in both cases the ladies finally return, thereby signifying their willingness to forgive the offending lovers. In our Celtic stories of the Offended Fée the ending is generally quite different. In only one—the *Aislinge Oengusso*—does the breach of the fée's commands result in aught but irreparable tragedy or eternal loss.² The fact that the two groups of stories differ so essentially in their conclusions need not, however, alarm us. They simply represent two different stages in the development of the same widespread theme, of which the Celtic accounts represent the earlier,

¹ Love-sickness is a constant result of the loss of the fée, both in popular and sophisticated versions of our story. So in Walter Map's tale of Wild Edric (*De Nugis Cur.*, II, 12), the lover, after the disappearance of his mistress, "wept day and night even to the point of foolishness toward himself, for he wore out his life in perpetual grief." Compare the oft-quoted case of Cuchulainn, who, after being abandoned by Fand, "was for a long time without drink or food in the mountains" until he was finally cured of his madness (Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, p. 104; *L'Épopée celt. en Irlande*, I, 215). See Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 40, where the passage is compared with Yvain's madness after the loss of Laudine in Chrétien's *Chevalier au Lion*. See further *Ir. T.*, I, 121 f.; *S.G.*, II, 196; cf. Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the I. Celts*, p. 124; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, p. clxxxvi, n. 10; Mead, *Morte Darthur* (Ath. Press. Ser.), p. 245, note. On the connection between love-sickness and the lethargy which affects mortals brought under fairy influence, see the interesting remarks of Professor Nitze, *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 14, n. 1, and p. 25. On savage beliefs regarding the origin of love, see Crawley, *op. cit.*, p. 29. One of the doctrines of mediaeval Courtly Love required [that the lover who had offended his lady-love should suffer great mental agony—a fact which doubtless assisted the popularity of stories like *Lanval* and *Graelen*. Cf. L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, pp. 85 f., 122 f.; J. J. Meyer, *Isoldes Gottesurteil in seiner erotischen Bedeutung*, Berlin, 1914, p. 18.

² The tragic ending occurs in the following modern Celtic parallels: J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands*, pp. 116, 201; *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 180 f.; V, 59 ff., 93; cf. D. E. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*, pp. 161 ff. Cf. Map's story of Wild Edric (*De Nug. Cur.*, II, 12), where the offended fée never returns. In the Irish swan-maiden story given by Dottin (*Contes et Légendes d'Irlande*, pp. 7 ff.), the lover, after returning from the fée's realm, pines away and dies. In the modern Ossianic tale published by Campbell (*Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, III, 421 ff.), the offended fée must be sought in the Other World and is recovered only with great difficulty. For other cases of punishment inflicted upon mortals by their fairy mistresses, see Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, Intro., pp. lx f.; *Partonopeus de Blois* (ed. Crapelet), Paris, 1834, vss. 5,412 ff.; Child, *Ballads*, No. 39, Notes; Nos. 41, 42; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Camb.*, I, chap. 8; Laisner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 186 ff.; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 99, 103; *Lohengrin*; and the various versions of the Melusine and Cupid and Psyche stories.

the romances the later form. E. S. Hartland has pointed out that in stories of our type "the episode of the recovery of the bride is scarcely ever found in the sagas of modern Europe, or indeed of any nation that has progressed beyond a certain mark of civilization. But," adds the writer, "it is common in their *Märchen*, as well as in the sagas of more backward nations. In the sagas of the advanced races, with rare exceptions, the most we get is what looks like a reminiscence of the episode in the occasional reappearance of the supernatural wife to her children, or as a banshee."¹ In the cases before us the tragic termination is much more in accord with the general character of the *fée* as she appears in our earliest Celtic documents. Her commands are but the result of an unalterable law of her fairy nature, and when they are broken, she returns to her own country. She has sisters all over the world, who, even in the absence of broken injunctions, can remain on earth for only a limited time.² As long as the story-teller remembered vividly the character of the Celtic fairy mistress, and felt the responsibility of the epic narrator who tells the story as it is laid upon him, just so long would the Offended *Fée* be irretrievably lost. At a later date or even at the same period in the hands of a narrator with a less conscientious attitude toward his work the happy ending might be added. This statement does not, however, mean that the feature of the recovery is confined to the realms of sophisticated literature. It is simply a question of whether the story is in the saga or the *Märchen* stage of development—whether the teller out of regard for artistic or other considerations allowed himself to give a more pleasing conclusion to his tale.³ It is probable that the episode in which the *fée* carries off her lover to the Other World was connected with the stories underlying *Lanval* and *Graelent* long before they

¹ *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 284 f. Cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 193 f., 201; Gervais of Tilbury, *Ot. Imp.*, p. 66. In discussing the Cupid and Psyche story, MacCulloch (*Childhood of Fiction*, p. 258), regards the tragic ending as an indication of extreme antiquity.

² Cf. MacCulloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, p. 346; Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 83.

³ In one of two variants of a Bedd Gelert tradition the offended *fée* returns once to give instructions regarding the care of her children; in the other she cannot return to mortal soil, but is allowed to hold converse with her husband from an island of sod floating in a lake (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 59 ff.; D. E. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*, pp. 161 f., cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 193). A possible reflection of the original situation is found in the words of *Lanval*'s mistress: If the lover reveals her existence, he will lose her forever ("a tuz jurs m'avriëz perdue"). So in *Désiré* and in *Gauriel von Muntabel*, though in the former the offended lady returns twice, and in the latter both offense and reconciliation occur twice.

reached the ears of courtly poets.¹ In the *Aislinge Oengusso* the Offended Fée is at last recovered; in the *Noinden Ulad* she returns long enough to extricate her lover from his difficulty; and, in any case, the happy ending would be readily suggested by another common type of fairy-mistress story in which the fée visits the world of mortals and carries off her lover immediately, as happens in the *Echtra Condla* and the *Laoidh Oisín*. In the former the hero sails to a beautiful island in the fée's crystal boat; in the latter Oisín accompanies his mistress to *Tír na n-Óg* on the latter's white horse.

The popularity of the type of story in which the Offended Fée at last relents was doubtless greatly increased in the eyes of mediaeval courtly poets by the ease with which it could be made a vehicle for the doctrines of Courtly Love. Though the ideal courtly lover was absolutely subservient to his lady's will, was forbidden even to mention her name, and must undergo the most exquisite suffering on having offended her, in the end love was triumphant.² The offended *amie's* favor might long be withheld, and the hero might be forced to languish in love-sickness, wear out shoes of iron, or climb mountains of ice; but his constancy was at last rewarded and he regained the heaven of his lady's grace.

From the standpoint of narrative interest also the recovery of the fairy mistress would prove more attractive to the writers of mediaeval romance. It offered endless opportunities for the introduction of thrilling and marvelous adventures through which the hero must pass ere he won back his lady-love.³ In late and decadent versions

¹ Attention should, however, be called to Chrétien's *Yvain*, which presents somewhat the same difficulty as do our lays. Here the hero visits the Other World, and wins the love of a lady who is associated with a fountain. He returns to the world of mortals, and loses his mistress by breaking his promise, whereupon he goes temporarily insane. Upon recovering he goes through another series of thrilling adventures which finally lead him back to the fée's realm, where the two are reunited. There are abundant Celtic analogues to the leading episodes in the two parts of the romance: (1) the Journey to the Other World with the acquisition and loss of the fairy mistress; (2) the hero's experiences after his madness, and the recovery of the fairy mistress (cf. Brown, *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 674 f.), but not a single early Celtic story furnishes a good parallel to both parts. As early as 1903 Brown had suggested that "the ultimate reconciliation of Iwain to Laudine, and probably also a journey of wonderful adventure that led him back to her land, formed a part of the Celtic material that Chrétien used" ([Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 146). In the lay of *Tydorel* (*Rom.*, VIII, 66 ff.), where the fairy mistress is replaced by the fairy lover, the latter disappears forever when his existence is discovered by a third party. Cf. my "Celtic Origin of the lay of *Yonec*," *R. C.*, XXXI, 459 f.

² See Mott, *Syst. of Courtly Love*, pp. 80, 98, 116.

³ As, for example, in *Partonopeus*, *Liombruno* and the *Pulsella gaia*.

he might even be made to lose and regain his mistress twice, as happens in *Gauriel von Muntabel*. In *Désiré* too the story has apparently been lengthened from sheer love of long-winded narration, for the fée returns twice—once to restore to *Désiré* her favor, a year later to carry him off to her own land.

As the material presented in this study has abundantly shown, the claims of the authors that the lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent* are based on traditions current among the Celts are justified. The fée's visit to the world of mortals in search of her lover, her dialogue with him, her strange command, her relation with the fountain or stream (in one case the swan-maiden elements in her character), her munificence, the disregard of her warning and the episodes connected therewith, her disappearance and the lover's subsequent remorse, her final return and her departure with her lover to the Other World, the fairy steeds and the part played by them, may all be accounted for in early Celtic tradition, and their presence in the French poems can most easily be explained on the Celtic hypothesis. In conclusion it should be added that these observations in no way contradict the fact that the lays are in spirit courtly and chivalric. Their mystery and charm, such as they are, differ essentially from the mystery and charm of Celtic romance. The bones are Celtic; the flesh is French.

TOM PEETE CROSS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

GERMANIC *naxt* IN GALLO-ROMAN

The dialect of Namur has long *ū* in the equivalents of French *cuir*, *cuire*, *cuit*, *cuite*, *huit*, *luir*, but its ordinary word for "night" is *nē*,¹ though there is a variant with *ū* in *bonnūt*. Apparently *bonnūt* was taken from French² several centuries ago; *nē* is derived from Germanic *naxt*, the group *ax* being treated as in *fē* < **faxto* < *factu*, *wēl* < **waitier* = French *guetter* < *guaitier* = German *wachten*.

The dialect of Liège agrees with that of Namur in the development of long *ū* from *ui*, but has short *ū* in the noun *nūt*.⁴ I think this peculiar difference can be explained in only one way: *nūt* is a slightly altered form of the early French word. If the Walloon of Liège had developed long *ū* in a derivative of *nocte*, it is not likely that the vowel would have been affected by the French form. We may assume that Liège shared with Namur the development of *nē* from *naxt*; afterward the Germanic word was replaced by a Romanic equivalent. Probably the derivative of *nocte* disappeared from all the dialects spoken in the neighborhood of Liège, so that in order to get a Romanic "night," Liège had to borrow it from France. It may seem strange that Liège, near the German border, should have become linguistically less Germanic than Namur; but we do not need to go a great distance to find a parallel reaction against foreign influence: the modern Dutch of Belgium uses French words less freely than the Dutch of Holland.⁵

In Middle High German the word *naxt*, commonly spelled *naht*, had *nehte* for the genitive and dative singular, and in the plural; the dative plural *nehten* was used adverbially with the meaning of Spanish *anoche*. The dialects of eastern France have been in contact with German for many centuries, so it is possible that some of them contain words derived from *naxt* rather than from the primitive stem

¹ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXIV, 27; Feller, *Orthographe wallonne*, Liège, 1905, p. 62.

² Foreigners in America often use *good night* and similar interjectional expressions, such as *good-bye* and *sure* (= *yes*), in speech that otherwise shows little or no influence of English.

³ *Modern Language Review*, VIII, 492.

⁴ Feller, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Remouchamps, *Tât l' pèriqut*, Liège, 1911, p. 54; *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, I, 194.

⁵ Te Winkel, in Paul's *Grundriss*, I, Strassburg, 1901, p. 804.

naxt. The dialect of Bourberain (Côte d'Or) has for "night" the form *nai*¹ with the same diphthong as in *lai* < *lectu*, also *nâû*² corresponding to *kâû* < **cocit*, *kâû* < *coctu*. As this dialect has *fa* < *factu*, *fâ* < *fagea*, *ma* < *magis*, we can assume *nai* < *next*, if the adoption of the Germanic word was contemporary with **faxto*. The possibility of a basis *next*, instead of *naxt*, may be admitted for some of the words mentioned below.

In Switzerland the form *né* seems to be much more widespread than *é*-derivatives of *coctu* and *octo*. If *né* < *naxt* occurs in dialects that have *fa* or *fè* instead of *fê* < *factu*, we may assume that some of the equivalents of *factu* have undergone analogic alteration, or that the *ax* of **faxto* became a simple vowel before *naxt* was adopted. The dialect of Saint-Jean-de-Bournay (Isère) has developed close long *e*, which I write *ê*, in *nê*³ as in *ê* < **aio*, *fêrô* < *facere*, *mê* < *magis*, *sê* < **saio*. This dialect, which has borrowed "eight" from French, has *sa* < *sapit*, *kwè* < *coctu*, and *fa* corresponding to *factu*; but in the neighboring village of Bourgoin, ten miles from Saint-Jean, we find the infinitive *fârô*⁴ beside *faré* < *facere* **aio*, *fê* < *factu*, *mé* < *magis*, *trêrô* < **tragere*, and *pârô* < *patre*. If the *fa* of Saint-Jean is not analogic, we could assume that here too the alteration of **faxto* was earlier than the introduction of *naxt*.

In some of the Gascon dialects the word "night" has the same diphthong as *hèit* < *factu*, and in many of them it lacks the *w* found in derivatives of *coctu* and *octo*.⁵ Thus the possibility of the development *nèit* < *naxt* is plain enough; its probability is a matter that is not easy to settle. The difficulty of the problem is increased by the fact that we find *kèit*, or something similar, as the derivative of *coctu* in various dialects of southern France. It does not seem likely that Gascon *nèit* was borrowed from the *kèit*-regions; but a change of *nwèit* to *nèit* might be normal in dialects that keep the *w* of *kwèit*. The group *kw* is common in Gascon, being generally kept, for example, in "four," while *w* following a dental seems to be rather rare.

EDWIN H. TUTTLE

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

¹ *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, II, 262.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 39. I use *â* for a vowel like that of English *black*.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 278.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 206.

⁵ Millardet, *Études de dialectologie landaise*, Toulouse, 1910, p. 205; Vignaux, *Poésies de Guillaume Ader*, Toulouse, 1904, p. 36. Ader, who was born about 1570, rimes *neit* with *leis* < *lectu*.

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